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A
HISTORY
OF THE
REPUBLIC OF ROME,
WITH A
BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ITS PROVINCES, ³⁷²₁₄₈₁
AND OF THE
RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY
OF THE
ROMANS:

ALSO,
A CHRONOLOGICAL APPENDIX.

COMPILED EXPRESSLY FOR
THE USE OF THE YOUTH OF AMERICA.

BY
W. J. BAKEWELL.

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READ p. 14 l. 21, nor *for* or; p. 20, l. 10, was kept *for* kept; p. 20 l. 22, husbandry *for* husbandy; p. 24, l. 27, dog Cerberus *for* dog of Cerberus; p. 32, l. 26, emperors *for* succeeding emperors; p. 43, l. 37, Pantheon *for* Pantehon; p. 45, l. 13, *dele*, as is afterwards stated; p. 54, l. 11, villany *for* villainy; p. 57, l. 38, Sextius *for* Sexitus; p. 61, l. 40, Cannæ *for* Cumæ; p. 62, l. 4, transporting *for* transplanting; p. 66, l. 20, tonsile *for* donsile; p. 97, l. 9, of a more *for* more; p. 101, l. 26, giant *for* giants; p. 104, l. 43, were an omen *for* was an omen; p. 115, l. 12, Italy *for* that ccuntry; p. 139, l. 16, study *for* sudy; p. 186, l. 9, Galatia *for* Gallatia; p. 192, l. 36, villany *for* villainy; p. 214, l. 11, Catiline *for* Cataline; p. 214, l. 32, Mariuses *for* Marius's, p. 250, l. 21, his respective *for* their; p. 287, l. 22, formation *for* formatien; p. 291, l. 14, success *for* succes; p. 296, l. 5, the upper *for* upper; p. 303, l. 28, discomfited *for* discomfited; p. 311, l. 19, exhibit *for* exhibits; p. 324, l. 21, Cæsar's *for* Cæsars'; p. 357, l. 27, beneficent *for* benificent; p. 364, l. 27, were exhibited *for* was exhibited; p. 368, l. 34, eminent writer *for* celebrated.



## P R E F A C E .

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GOVERNOR PORTER, in his last Message, with an enlightened and patriotic regard for the welfare of his country, insists on the great importance of education ; and, at the same time, laments the want of books adapted to the developement of the minds of the Youth of this great Commonwealth. Of the momentous consequence of education to the general well being of the community, there can be but one opinion. The intellectual and moral powers of man are the characteristics of his nature ; and on the due cultivation of these faculties, depend his real respectability, usefulness, and happiness. In a Republic, in which the people bear sovereign sway, and all the institutions, laws, and measures of government are subject to their will and pleasure, it is of immense importance that their minds be awakened, that their intellectual powers be early and vigorously exercised, and that, through the medium of a judicious system of instruction, they be enabled to understand and appreciate the comprehensive principles of liberty, and be fitted to discharge, with credit to themselves, and advantage to the Commonwealth, the highly responsible duties of an American citizen. And knowledge is power.

In a Republic, it is the imperative duty of the State to bestow a provident and vigilant attention on the education of all those, who, on attaining the period of manhood, acquire the right to elect their representatives and governors. This is one of the first and most important duties of the Legislature. It is a common cause in which all are interested, and in which,

to a certain extent, all should be engaged. And, that the great end may be secured, it is not only necessary that competent masters be appointed, but, also, that suitable books be provided.

In the present advanced state of society, something more is required than the mere mechanical instruction, formerly deemed sufficient for the Public Schools, of teaching to read and write, and perform the first rules of arithmetic. In a Republic, more especially, the capacious powers of the minds of the whole community should be awakened, and subjects of study be submitted, which impart habits of intellectual activity, which excite a thirst for knowledge, and mould the heart into the form of virtue.

Whether the present Book is, in any respect, adapted to accomplish these important objects of education, must be left to the judgment of the impartial reader. Though very hastily got up, I hope that it has some claim on the public attention. I can sincerely declare that it is not written with a mercenary view, and I am persuaded, that it does not inculcate any principles at variance with the Constitution of these States. Whilst engaged in a work for my own Pupils, in which I had made some progress, and entitled Historical Reader, my mind was forcibly impressed with that part of the Governor's Message which relates to public schools, and I hoped, by altering my plan, I might prepare a book, which would be more extensively useful. I ventured to entertain the thought, that I might possibly do something towards supplying the want of which the Governor complains; and, though very much occupied by my professional duties, I determined to lay aside what I had written, and to devote my few leisure hours to the compilation of a work for the Youth of America. And, with the most ardent wishes for the welfare of the rising generation, I humbly dedicate it to their use. Deeply convinced, that there are, indeed, many in the United States much more competent to the task, I yet thought, I would venture to cast in my mite, with the single desire of rendering

some service, however insignificant, to the land of my adoption, as a small, but very inadequate return to the Country, which generously welcomes to her spacious territory foreigners from every clime, and bestows upon them the inestimable blessings of her Institutions, and her rich and exhaustless field of enterprise.

The proper study of mankind is man. The history of our race is the most important and interesting subject that can engage the attention of youth. The material are rich and various, yet many of the Histories, compiled for the use of Schools, very briefly notice, or altogether omit, the most interesting and instructive subjects. We have a particular account of the marshalling and relative numbers of contending armies: page after page is filled with a detail of the horrible carnage, which the wicked ambition of princes and generals has made; and the mind is led to dwell on the field of battle deluged with human blood. Of what possible advantage the particular recital of these transactions can be, I cannot imagine. I am persuaded, that the effect on the mind is decidedly pernicious. I have, therefore, in the following history, passed over, as hastily as possible, all the military affairs, which take up so large a portion of historical narratives; and by this means, and by omitting many dry particulars, which have no bearing on the present condition of man—which burden the memory without making any return, without enlightening the understanding or improving the heart—I have been enabled to introduce and dwell upon transactions and characters of a universally interesting nature—that have an intimate relation to our political, social, and individual well-being. I have carefully avoided all particulars that appeared to me of an unedifying description. My great object has been to illustrate the religion, laws, the character, manners, and customs of the Romans, and, in the latter portion of the history, to point out the causes of the decline and fall of the spirit of Liberty.

Feeling a deep interest in the welfare of the Republic of America, and ardently desiring the perpetuity of its Institutions,

I have been anxious to exhibit the pernicious effects of party—"the madness of many for the gain of a few"—and of that licentious spirit, which, under the abused name of liberty, dares to trample on the sacred majesty of the law,—to delineate the impious iniquity of artful and abandoned men, who, behind the mask of liberty, are plotting to undermine its sacred edifice, and elevate themselves upon its ruins—of men enfeoffed to popularity, who endanger the Institutions of their country by basely flattering popular passions and prejudices.

The enemies of America assert that its citizens are vain, are fond of flattery, that they cannot patiently bear to hear the truth spoken in sincerity, that they are easily deluded by ambitious demagogues—that the Americans are not men, but children in understanding. "If it be so, it is a grievous fault, and grievously will America answer it." But it cannot be, that a nation pre-eminently distinguished by the rich profusion of Nature's gifts—that a nation glorious in arms, in arts, in enterprise, and blessed, far beyond any other country in the world in its civil institutions—the only country on the earth where all the inalienable rights of man, civil and religious, are fully acknowledged and firmly maintained—it cannot be that a people, so highly favored by Providence, can be so weak, so little, so credulous, as to become the dupes of flattery, and the tools of artful and aspiring knaves. There is an honorable pride—a degree of self-respect, and reverence in which the freeman may justifiably indulge, and, certainly, no people on the face of the earth stand in so little need of false praise, no people have so much right to lift up their heads with conscious independence, and show themselves men.

The enemies of America assert, that whilst its citizens boast of their freedom, they are the slaves of popular opinion, that they timidly crouch before each other, and are actually afraid to give free utterance to the convictions of their own minds. A more serious charge cannot be made. Were it true, they would be the meanest of mankind. We can, and ought to be compassionate, and have a fellow feeling for, a poor grovelling

reptile, the slave of eastern despotism, who falls down in prostrate homage before a man made in all respects like himself, dressed up in brief authority; but we could view only with emotions of unmixed contempt, the miserable creature, who, though living in the happy land of liberty, in the country of the great and glorious Washington, should, from the servile fear of man, shrink from the avowal of his opinions, and slavishly conceal within his own breast the sentiments which long for utterance—sentiments which rise spontaneously to the lips, but which the calculating dictates of a sordid prudence drive back to the inmost recesses of the soul.

This Book, as the Title Page indicates, has no pretensions to the character of an original work. I wish it to be considered as a compilation. In many parts throughout the volume, there are passages for which I am strictly responsible. I have often transcribed the very words of the authors whom I have consulted; sometimes I have changed many of their expressions, and not unfrequently clothed the facts which I have recorded in my own language. Except, in a few instances, I have not thought it necessary to use inverted commas; for, throughout the work, I have, without scruple, and without any intention to act the plagiarist, availed myself of the sentiments, or words of any author that would answer my purpose. There are several parts of the work that are almost entirely compiled.—The introductory chapter, on the Uses and Advantages of History, is from Lord Bolingbroke's Letters; the Mythology is compiled from Adam's Roman Antiquities, and the greater part relating to the Institutions, customs, &c., of the Romans; the chapter on Palestine is chiefly compiled from Milman's History of the Jews, and that on Philosophy, with the exception of a few passages, from Brucker's Philosophy, by Enfield. In page 125, the character of Washington is by Mr. Mason.

The chapter on Philosophy may be deemed too long, and out of all proportion to the rest of the work; but, I could not reduce it to a smaller compass, consistently with the design of

the Book, and without divesting it of all interest. A history of the opinions of the most celebrated men of antiquity, is a history of human nature, properly so called. A knowledge of the minds of the sages of Greece and Rome, is absolutely necessary to form any thing like a correct opinion of the rational world at the period I have described. Though the philosophy had its most celebrated schools in Greece, it became the philosophy of Rome, as much as if it had originated in Italy. The names of the eminent Greek and Roman Philosophers are constantly occurring in various books, and it appeared to me desirable, to introduce their characters to the knowledge of those who may not have other means of obtaining information on the subject.

The Title, Historical Reader, which heads the pages, would be more appropriate to the work which I had intended to publish, than to the present history. After a few pages were struck off, a friend showed me a book with the same title, formed, however, on a very different plan. When I commenced the work, I intended to divide the volume into two parts, which will account for the heading, Part First, page 13. Should the present publication be deemed useful, it is my intention to prepare a Second Part, which will embrace not only the history of the Roman world under the Emperors, but the principal transactions of European History up to the period of the Reformation.

The history of the Republic commences at page 75, but, through an oversight, the names of the leading characters of the chapter, Brutus, Coriolanus, Cincinnatus, and Camillus, were omitted, and the Title, "History of the Roman Republic," which should be placed at the top of the page, was substituted.

W. J. BAKEWELL.

PENN ST., Pittsburgh, April 8th, 1842.

# HISTORICAL READER.

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## PART FIRST.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### INTRODUCTION.

##### ON THE USES AND ADVANTAGES OF HISTORY.

The love of history seems inseparable from human nature, because it seems inseparable from self-love. The same principle in this instance carries us forward and backward, to future and to past ages. We imagine that the things which affect us must affect posterity; this sentiment runs through mankind, from Cæsar down to the parish clerk in Pope's Miscellany. We are fond of preserving, as far as it is in our frail power, the memory of our own adventures, of those of our own time, and of those that preceded it. Rude heaps of stones have been raised, and ruder hymns have been composed, for this purpose, by nations who have not yet the use of arts and letters. To go no further back, the triumphs of Odin were celebrated in Runic songs, and the feats of our British ancestors were recorded in those of their bards. The savages of America have the same custom at this day; and long historical ballads of their huntings and their wars are sung at all festivals. There is no need of saying how this passion grows among civilized nations, in proportion to the means of gratifying it: but let us observe that the same principle of nature directs us as strongly, and more generally, as well as more early, to indulge our own curiosity, instead of preparing to gratify that of others. The child hearkens with delight to the tales of his nurse, he learns to read, and he devours with eagerness fabulous legends and novels. In riper years he

applies himself to history, or to that which he takes for history, to authorized romance; and even in age, the desire of knowing what has happened to other men, yields to the desire alone of relating what has happened to ourselves. Thus history, true or false, speaks to our passions always. What pity is it, that even the best should speak to our understandings so seldom. That it does so, we have none to blame but ourselves. Nature has done her part. She has opened this study to every man who can read and think; and what she has made the most agreeable, reason can make the most useful, application of our minds. But if we consult our reason, we shall be far from following the examples of our fellow-creatures, in this as in most other cases, who are so proud of being rational. If we read to soothe our indolence, or to gratify our vanity, we mistake the true drift of study, and the true use of history. Nature gave us curiosity to excite the industry of our minds; but she never intended it should be made the principal, much less the sole, object of their application. The true and proper object of this application is a constant improvement in private and in public virtue. An application to any study, that tends neither directly or indirectly to make us better men and better citizens, is at best but a specious and ingenious sort of idleness, to use an expression of Tillotson's: and the knowledge we acquire by it is a creditable kind of ignorance, nothing more. This creditable kind of ignorance is, in my opinion, the whole benefit which the generality of men, even of the most learned, reap from the study of history; and yet the study of history seems to me, of all others, the most proper to train us up to private and public virtue.

I think that history is philosophy teaching by examples. We need but to cast our eyes on the world, and we shall see the daily force of example: we need but to turn them inward, and we shall soon discover why example has this force. Such is the imperfection of human understanding, such the frail temper of our minds, that abstract or general propositions, though ever so true, appear obscure or doubtful to us very often, till they are explained by examples; and that the wisest lessons in favor of virtue go but a little way to convince the judgment, and determine the will, unless they are enforced by the same means, and we are obliged to apply to ourselves what we see happen to other men. Instructions by precept have the further disadvantage of coming on the authority of others, and frequently require a long deduction of reasoning. When examples are pointed out to us, there is a kind of appeal,



with which we are flattered, made to our senses, as well as to our understandings. The instruction comes, then, upon our own authority; we frame the precept after our own experience, and yield to fact when we resist speculation. But this is not the only advantage of instruction by example; for example appeals not to our understanding alone, but to our passions likewise. Example assuages these, or animates them, sets passion on the side of judgment, and makes the whole man of a piece, which is more than the strongest reasoning and the clearest demonstration can do; and thus forming habits by repetition, example secures the observance of those precepts which example insinuated. Is it not Pliny who says, that the gentlest, he should have added the most effectual, way of commanding, is by example? The citizens of Rome placed the images of their ancestors in the vestibules of their houses; so that whenever they went in or out, these venerable bustoes met their eyes, and recalled the glorious actions of the dead to fire the living, to excite them to imitate, and even to emulate, their great forefathers. The success answered the design. The virtue of one generation was transfused by the magic of example into several; and a spirit of heroism was maintained through many ages of that Commonwealth. Now, these are so many instances of the force of remote example, and from all these instances we may conclude that examples of both kinds are necessary.

The school of example is the world, and the masters of this school are history and experience. I am far from contending that the former is preferable to the latter. I think, upon the whole, otherwise; but this I say, that the former is absolutely necessary to prepare us for the latter, and to accompany us whilst we are under the discipline of the latter, that is, through the whole course of our lives. No doubt some few men may be quoted, to whom nature gave what art and industry can give to no man. But such examples will prove nothing against me, because I admit that the study of history, without experience, is insufficient, but assert that experience itself is so without genius. Genius is preferable to the other two, but I would wish to find the three together; for how great soever a genius may be, and how much soever he may acquire new light and heat as he proceeds in his rapid course, certain it is that he will never shine with the full lustre, nor shed the full influence he is capable of, unless to his own experience he adds the experience of other men and other ages. Genius, without the improvement at least of experience, is what comets once

were thought to be, blazing meteors, irregular in their course, and dangerous in their approach; of no use to any system, and able to destroy any. Mere sons of earth, if they have experience without any knowledge of the history of the world, are but half scholars in the science of mankind. And if they are conversant in history without experience, they are worse than ignorant; they are pedants, always incapable, sometimes meddling and presuming. The man who has all three, is an honor to his country, and a public blessing.

The temper of mind is formed, and a certain turn given to our ways of thinking; in a word, the seeds of that moral character which cannot wholly alter the natural character, but may correct the evil and improve the good that is in it, or do the very contrary, or sow betimes much sooner than is commonly supposed. It is equally certain, that we shall gather or not gather experience, be the better or the worse for this experience when we come into the world and mingle amongst mankind, according to the temper of mind, and the turn of thought, that we have acquired beforehand, and bring along with us. They will tincture all our future acquisitions, so that the very same experience which secures the judgment of one man, or excites him to virtue, shall lead another into error, or plunge him into vice. From hence it follows that the study of history has, in this respect, a double advantage. If experience alone can make us perfect in our parts, experience cannot begin to teach them till we are actually on the stage: whereas, by a previous application to this study, we conn them over at least before we appear there: we are not quite unprepared, we learn our parts sooner, and we learn them better.

Let me explain what I mean by an example. There is scarce any folly or vice more epidemical among the sons of men, than the ridiculous and hurtful vanity by which the people of each country are apt to prefer themselves to those of every other; and to make their own customs, and manners, and opinions, the standards of right and wrong, of true and false. The Chinese Mandarins were strangely surprised, and almost incredulous, when the Jesuits shewed them how small a figure their empire made in the general map of the world. The Samojedes wondered much at the Czar of Muscovy for not living among them; and the Hottentot, who returned from Europe, stripped himself as soon as he came home, and returned to his former sordid habits. Now, nothing can contribute more to prevent us from being tainted with this vanity, than to accustom ourselves early to contemplate the different nations

of the earth in that vast map which history spreads before us, in their rise and their fall, in their barbarous and civilized states, in the likeness and unlikeness of them all to one another, and of each to itself. By frequently renewing this prospect to the mind, the Mexican, with his cap and coat of feathers, sacrificing a human victim to his god, will not appear more savage to our eyes, than the Spaniard, with a hat on his head, and a gonilla round his neck, sacrificing whole nations to his ambition, his avarice, and even the wantonness of his cruelty. I might shew, by a multitude of other examples, how history prepares us for experience, and guides us in it; and many of these would be both curious and important. I might likewise bring several other instances, wherein history serves to purge the mind of those national partialities and prejudices that we are apt to contract in our education, and that experience, for the most part, rather confirms than removes; because it is for the most part confined, like our education. Though an early and proper application to the study of history will contribute extremely to keep our minds free from a ridiculous partiality in favor of our own country, and a vicious prejudice against others; yet the same study will create in us a preference of affection to our own country. Education and habit, obligation and interest, attach us to it, not instinct. It is, however, so necessary to be cultivated, and the prosperity of all societies, as well as the grandeur of some, depends upon it so much, that orators by their eloquence, and poets by their enthusiasm, have endeavored to work up this precept of morality into a principle of passion. But the examples which we find in history, improved by the lively descriptions, and the just applauses or censures of historians, will have a much better and more permanent effect than declamation, or song, or the dry ethics of mere philosophy. In fine, to converse with historians is to keep good company: many of them were excellent men, and those who were not such have taken care, however, to appear such in their writings. It must be, therefore, of great use to prepare ourselves by this conversation for that of the world; and to receive our first impressions, and to acquire our first habits, in a scene where images of virtue and vice are continually represented to us in the colors that belong properly to them, before we enter on another scene, where virtue and vice are too often confounded, and what belongs to one is ascribed to the other.

Thus again, as to events that stand recorded in history: we see them all, we see them as they followed one another, or as

they produced one another, causes or effects, immediate or remote. We are cast back, as it were, into former ages ; we live with the men who lived before us, and we inhabit countries that we never saw. Place is enlarged, and time prolonged, in this manner; so that the man who applies himself early to the study of history, may acquire in a few years, and before he sets his foot abroad in the world, not only a more extended knowledge of mankind, but the experience of more centuries, than any of the patriarchs saw.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE RELIGION OF THE ROMANS.

The Gods whom the Romans worshipped were very numerous, and divided into *Dii majorum gentium*, and *minorum gentium*.

#### SECTION I.

The *DII MAJORUM GENTIUM* were the great celestial deities, and twelve in number :

1. Jupiter, the king of gods and men, the son of Saturn and Rhea, or Ops, the goddess of the earth, born and educated in the island of Crete. He was supposed to have dethroned his father, and to have divided his kingdom with his brothers. He himself obtained the air and the earth, Neptune the sea, and Pluto the infernal regions. Jupiter is usually represented sitting on an ivory throne, holding a sceptre in his left hand, and a thunderbolt in his right, with an eagle, and Hébé, the daughter of Juno, and goddess of youth, or the boy Ganymédes, his cup bearer, attending him.

2. Juno, the wife and sister of Jupiter; queen of the gods, and goddess of marriage. She is represented in a long robe and magnificent dress, sometimes sitting or standing in a light car, drawn by peacocks, attended by the Auræ, or air nymphs, and by Iris, the goddess of the rainbow.

3. Minerva, or Pallas, the goddess of wisdom; said to have sprung from the brain of Jupiter by the stroke of Vulcan. She is said to be the inventress of spinning and weaving, of the olive, and of warlike chariots. She is called Tritonia, because she was first seen near the lake Tritónis, in Africa. She is represented as an armed Virgin, beautiful, but stern and dark colored, with azure or sky colored eyes, having a helmet on her head, and a plume nodding formidably in the air, holding in her right hand a spear, and in her left a shield covered with the skin of the goat Amalthéa, by which she was nursed, (hence called *Ægis*,) given her by Jupiter, whose shield had the same name. In the middle of it was the head

of the Gorgon Medúsa, a monster with snaky hair, which turned every one who looked at it into stone. There was a statue of Minerva (Palladium) supposed to have fallen from heaven, which was religiously kept in her temple by the Trojans, and stolen thence by Ulysses and Diomédes.

4. Vesta, the goddess of fire. Two of this name are mentioned by the poets; one the mother, and the other the daughter of Saturn, who are often confounded. But the latter chiefly was worshipped at Rome. In her sanctuary was supposed to be preserved the Palladium of Troy, and a fire kept continually burning by a number of virgins, called the Vestal virgins.

5. Ceres, the goddess of corn and husbandry, the sister of Jupiter. She was worshipped chiefly in Eleusis in Greece, and in Sicily. Her sacred rites were kept very secret. She is represented with her head crowned with ears of corn or poppies, and her robes falling down to her feet, holding a torch in her hand. She is said to have wandered over the whole earth with a torch in her hand, which she lighted at Mount Ætna, in quest of her daughter Proserpine, who was carried off by Pluto. Plutus, the god of riches; is supposed to be the son of Ceres. Ceres is called *Legifera*, the lawgiver, because laws were the effect of husbandry, and *Arcána*, because her sacred rites were celebrated with great secrecy, particularly at Eleusis in Attica. By the voice of a herald the wicked were excluded. Whoever entered without being initiated, although ignorant of the prohibition, was put to death. A sow was sacrificed to this goddess, because this animal is hurtful to corn fields; and a fox was burnt to death at her sacred rites, with torches tied round it, because a fox, wrapt round with stubble and hay, set on fire, once burnt a field of growing corn.

6. Neptune, the god of the sea, and brother of Jupiter. Represented with a trident in his right hand, and a dolphin in his left, one of his feet resting on part of a ship; his aspect majestic and serene; sometimes in a chariot drawn by sea-horses, with a triton on each side. Besides Neptune there were the sea-gods and goddesses; *Océanus*, and his wife *Tethys*; *Néreus*, and his wife *Doris*; the *Neréides*, *Thetis*, *Doto*, *Galatæa*, &c.; *Triton*, *Prôteus*, *Portumnus*, *Ino*, *Palémon*, &c.

7. Venus, the goddess of love and beauty, said to have been produced by the foam of the sea, near the Island of Cythéra, hence called *Cytheréa*. According to others she was the daughter of Jupiter, and the nymph *Dióne*. She was the wife of *Vulcan*, and was worshipped chiefly in the island of

Cyprus. The tree most acceptable to this goddess was the myrtle. The attendants of Venus were her son Cupid, (or rather the Cupids, for there were many of them; but the two most remarkable were Eros, who caused love, and Anteros, who made it cease, or produced mutual love,) the three Graces, Aglaia, or Pasithéa, Thalia, and Euphrosyne, represented with their hands joined together, and Nymphs dancing with the Graces.

8. Vulcan, or Mulciber, the god of fire and of smiths, the son of Jupiter and Juno, and husband of Venus. Represented as a lame blacksmith, hardened from the forge, with a fiery red face whilst at work, and tired and heated after it. He is said to have had his work-shop chiefly in Lemnos, and in the Æolian or Lipari islands near Sicily, or in a cave of Mount Ætna. His workmen were the Cyclops, giants with one eye in their forehead, who were usually employed in making the thunderbolts of Jupiter.

9. Mars, the god of war, and son of Juno, worshipped by the Thracians, Getæ, and Scythians, and especially by the Romans, as the father of Romulus, their founder, painted with a fierce aspect, riding in a chariot, or on horseback, with a helmet and a spear. When peaceable, Mars was called Quirinus. Bellóna, the goddess of war, was the wife or sister of Mars. A round shield (Ancile,) is said to have fallen from heaven in the reign of Numa, supposed to be the shield of Mars, which was kept with great care in his sanctuary, as a symbol of the perpetuity of the empire, by the priests of Mars, who were called Salii; and that it might not be stolen, eleven others were made quite like it. The animals sacred to him are the horse, the wolf, and the wood-pecker.

10. Mercurius, the son of Jupiter and Maia, the daughter of Atlas. He was the messenger of the gods, the god of eloquence, the patron of merchants and gain, the inventor of the lyre and harp, the protector of poets and men of genius, of musicians, wrestlers, the conductor of souls to their proper mansions; also, the god of ingenuity and of thieves. He was called Cyllenius, from Cylléne, a mountain in Arcadia, where he was born, and Tygæus from Tégea, a city near it. The distinguishing attributes of Mercury are his Petasus, or winged cap, the Talária, or winged sandals, and a Cadúceus, or wand, with two serpents about it, in his hand. Sometimes, as the god of merchants, he bears a purse.

11. Apollo, the son of Jupiter and Latóna, born in the island of Delos. He was the god of poetry, music, medicine,

augury, and archery, and was also called Phœbus and Sol. He had oracles in many places; the chief one was at Delphi, in Phocis. He had various names given to him from the places where he was more particularly worshipped, as Cynthius, Pataréus, &c. He was also called Latóus, son of Latóna, and Pythius, from having slain the serpent of Python. He is usually represented as a beautiful beardless young man, with long hair, holding a bow and arrows in his right hand, and in his left a lyre and a harp. He is crowned with laurel, which was sacred to him, as were the hawk and raven. The son of Apollo was Æsculapius, the god of medicine, worshipped formerly at Epidaurus in the form of a serpent, or leaning on a staff, round which a serpent was entwined.

Connected with Apollo and Minerva were the nine Muses, said to be the daughters of Jupiter and Mnemosyne, or memory; Calliope, the muse of heroic poetry; Clio, of history; Melpomene, of tragedy; Thalia, of comedy and pastorals; Erato, of love songs and hymns; Euterpe, of playing on the flute; Terpsichore, of the harp and dancing; Polyhymnia, of singing, gesture, and rhetoric; and Urania, of astronomy. The Muses frequented the mountains Parnassus, Helicon, Pierus, &c.; the fountains Castalius, Aganippe, or Hippocréne, &c., whence they had various names.

12. Diana, the sister of Apollo, goddess of the woods and hunting, called Diana on earth, Luna in heaven, and Hecaté in hell. She is represented as a tall, beautiful virgin, with a quiver on her shoulder, and a javelin or bow in her right hand, chasing deer or other animals. She is called Trivia, from her statues standing where three roads met.

These twelve Deities are represented as occupying a different part of heaven from the inferior gods.

The *DII SELECTI* were eight in number.

1. Saturnus, the god of time, the son of Cœlus, or Uranus, and Terra, or Vesta. Titan, his brother, resigned the kingdom to him on condition that he should rear no male offspring, on which account he is feigned by the poets to have devoured his sons as soon as they were born. But Rhea found means to deceive him, and bring up by stealth Jupiter and his two brothers. Saturn being dethroned by Jupiter, fled into Italy, and gave name to Látium, from his lurking there. Under Saturn is supposed to have been the golden age, when the earth produced food in abundance spontaneously, and all things were in common. There was at this period an intercourse between the gods and men upon earth, which ceased in the brazen and



iron ages, when even the virgin Astræa, or goddess of justice, provoked by the wickedness of men, left it. The only goddess then left was Hope. Saturn is painted as a decrepid old man, with a scythe in his hand, or a serpent biting off its own tail.

2. Janus, the god of the year, who presided over the gates of heaven, and also over peace and war. He is painted with two faces. His temple was open in time of war, and shut in time of peace.

3. Rhea, the wife of Saturn, called also Ops, Cybele, Berecynthia, Idæa, and Didyméne. She was painted as a matron, crowned with towers, sitting in a chariot drawn by lions.

4. Pluto, the brother of Jupiter, and king of the infernal regions. Proserpine was his wife, whom he carried off as she was gathering flowers on the plains of Enna, in Sicily.

There are many other infernal deities, of whom the chief were the Fates, or Destinies; Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, supposed to determine the life of men by spinning; Clotho held the distaff, Lachesis spun, and Atropos cut the thread. The Furies, also three in number, Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megæra, represented with wings, and snakes twisted in their hair, holding in their hands a torch and a whip to torment the wicked. Mors, the god of death; and Somnus, of sleep.

Bacchus, the god of wine, the son of Jupiter and Semele. He was also called Liber, and described as the conqueror of India, represented always young, crowned with vine or ivy leaves, sometimes with horns, holding in his hand a thyrsis or spear bound with ivy, and in a chariot drawn by tigers, lions, lynxes, attended by Sílénus, his nurse and preceptor, and Bacchanals (frantic women,) and Satyrs. Priápus, the god of gardens, was the son of Bacchus and Venus.

6. Sol, the sun, the same as Apollo, but sometimes distinguished, and then supposed to be the son of Hypérion, one of the Titans, or giants, produced by the earth, who is also put for the sun. The Persians worshipped the sun under the name of Mithras.

7. Luna, the moon, as one of the Dii Selecti, was the daughter of Hyperion, and sister of Sol. Her chariot was drawn by two horses.

8. Genius, the dæmon, or tutelary god, who was supposed to take care of every one from his birth, during the whole of life. Places and cities, as well as men, had their particular

Genii. It was generally believed that every person had two Genii, the one good, and the other bad.

Nearly allied to the Genii were the Lāres and Penātes, the household gods, who presided over families. The Lares appear to have been the Mānes of their ancestors. Small waxen images of them, clothed with the skin of a dog, were placed round the hearth in the hall. On festivals they were crowned with garlands, and sacrifices were offered to them. The Penates were worshipped in the innermost part of the house, which was called Penetralia. They were also worshipped in the Capitol, under whose protection the city and temples were. The Lares and Penates were not, as some suppose, the same. The Penates are by the ancients represented as of divine origin, and the Lares of human. Certain persons were admitted to the worship of the latter, who were not to the former.

## SECTION II.

### DII MINORUM GENTIUM, or Inferior Deities.

These were of various kinds.

1. Dii Indigetes, or heroes, ranked among the gods on account of their virtue and merits, of whom the chief were;

Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon, king of Thebes, famous for his twelve labors and other exploits. He squeezed two serpents to death in his cradle, killed the lion in the wood of Nemæa, the Hydra of Lake Lerna, the boar of Erymanthus, the brazen footed stag on Mount Menalus, the harpies in the lake Stymphalus, Diomedes and his horses that fed on human flesh, the wild bull in the island of Crete, cleansed the stables of Augæus, subdued the Amazons and Centaurs, dragged the dog of Cerberus from hell, carried off the oxen of the three-bodied Geryon from Spain, fixed pillars in the Straits of Gibraltar, (fretum Gaditanum,) brought away the golden apples of the Hesperides, killed the dragon which guarded them, slew the giant Antæus, and the monstrous thief Cacus, &c. He was called Alcides, Tirynhius, and Octæus. Being consumed by a poisoned robe, (sent him by his wife Dejanira in a fit of jealousy,) which he could not pull off, he laid himself on a funeral pile, and ordered it to be set on fire. He is represented of prodigious strength, holding a club in his right hand, and clothed in the skin of the Nemæan lion.

Castor and Pollux, sons of Jupiter and Leda, said to have been produced from two eggs, from one of which came Pollux and Helena, and from the other Castor and Clytemnestra. They were the gods of mariners, because their constellation was much observed at sea. They are represented riding on white horses, with a star over the head of each, and covered with a cap.

2. There were certain gods called Semónes (quasi semi-homines, minores diis et majores hominibus.)

Pan, the god of shepherds, the inventor of the flute, said to be the son of Mercury and Penelopé, worshipped chiefly in Arcadia; represented with horns and goats' feet.

Faunus and SylvánuS, supposed to be the same as Pan. There were several rural deities called Fauni, who were believed to occasion nightmare.

Vertumnus, who presided over the change of seasons and merchandise, supposed to transform himself into different shapes.

Pomóna, the goddess of gardens and fruits, the wife of Vertumnus. Flora, the goddess of flowers. Hymen, the god of marriage. Terminus, the god of boundaries. Pales, a god or goddess, who presided over flocks and herds. Laverna, the goddess of thieves. Vacúna, who presided over vacation, or respite from business. Averruncus, the god who averted mischiefs. Fascinus, who prevented fascination or enchantment. RobíguS, the god, and Rubigo, the goddess who preserved corn from blight. Mephítis, the goddess of mephitic odors. Cloacína, the goddess of common sewers.

Under the Semónes were comprehended the Nymphs, female deities, who presided over all parts of the earth; Oreades, over mountains; Dryades, Hamadryades, Napææ, over woods; Naiades, over rivers and fountains; Nereides, Oceanides, over the sea. Each river was supposed to have a particular deity, who presided over it. The sources of rivers were particularly sacred to some divinity; and cultivated with religious ceremonies. Temples were erected, and small pieces of money were thrown into them, and no person was allowed to swim near the head of the spring. Sacrifices were offered to fountains.

Under the Semónes were also included the judges in the infernal regions, Minos, Eacus, and Rhadamanthus; Charon, the ferryman of hell, who conducted the souls of the dead in a boat over the rivers Styx and Acheron; Cerberus, a three-headed monster, who guarded the entrance of hell.

The Romans also worshipped the virtues and affections of the mind ; as Piety, Faith, Fortune, Fame, &c., and even vices and diseases ; and (under the emperors) foreign deities, as Isis, Osiris, Anúbis of the Ægyptians ; also the winds and tempests, Eurus the east wind, Auster or Notus the south wind, Zephyrus the west wind, Boreas the north wind, &c.

Æolus, the god of the winds, who was supposed to reside in the Lipari islands. Auræ, air nymphs or sylphs.

### SECTION III.

#### MINISTERS OF RELIGION.

Ministers of religion among the Romans did not form a distinct order of men from the other citizens. They were usually chosen from among the most honorable men in the state. Some of them were common to all the gods ; others appropriated to a particular deity.

Of the former kind were ;

1. The Pontifices, (a posse facere,) who were first instituted by Numa. They were chosen from the Patricians, and were four in number, but in the year 454 from the building of the city, four more were created from the Plebeians. Scylla increased their number to fifteen. They judged in all causes relating to religion ; and in cases where there was no written law, they prescribed what regulations they thought proper. The whole number of Pontifices was called Collegium. From the time of Numa the vacant places in the number of Pontifices were supplied by the College, but in the year of Rome 650, the right was transferred to the people. Antony transferred it to the priests ; Pansa once more restored the right of election to the people. After the battle of Actium, permission was granted to Augustus to add to the fraternities of priests as many above the usual number as he thought proper ; which power the succeeding emperors exercised, so that the number of priests was thenceforth very uncertain. The chief of the Pontiffs was called Pontifex Maximus, created by the people, while the rest were chosen by the College. The office of Chief Pontiff was one of great dignity and power. His presence was requisite in public and solemn religious acts. The office was for life. Augustus assumed the office, which was ever after held by his successors, and the title even retained by Christian emperors to the time of Theodosius.

2. Augures, augurs, anciently called Auspices, whose office

it was to foretell future events, chiefly from the flight, chirping, or feeding of birds, &c. They were of great authority, and nothing of importance was done respecting the public, either at home or abroad, without consulting them. Anciently the Roman youth were instructed as carefully in the art of augury, as afterwards they were in Greek literature. Of whatever crimes the augurs were guilty, they could not be deprived of their office, because, as Plutarch says, they were entrusted with the secrets of the empire.

An augur made his observations on the heavens usually at midnight. In whatever position the augur stood on his elevated station, where the view was open on all sides, omens on the left were reckoned lucky. Thunder on the left was a good omen; the croaking of a raven on the right, and of a crow on the left, was reckoned fortunate. The whole art seems to have been continued, and afterwards cultivated chiefly to increase the influence of the leading men over the multitude.

The Romans took omens also from quadrupeds crossing the way, or appearing in an unaccustomed place; from sneezing, spilling salt on the table, &c., which were called *dira signa*, unlucky omens. Many curious instances of Roman superstition with respect to omens are enumerated. Cæsar on landing in Africa, happened to fall on his face, which was reckoned a bad omen, but he with great presence of mind turned it to the contrary; for, taking hold of the ground with his right hand, and kissing it, as if he had fallen on purpose, he exclaimed, "I take possession of thee, O! Africa."

Future events were also prognosticated by drawing lots, and also from names; from opening any book at random, and forming conjectures from the meaning of the first line or passage which happened to meet the eye; from the stars, and from dreams.

Haruspices, soothsayers, were persons who examined the victims and their entrails after they were sacrificed, and from thence derived omens of futurity.

Quindecemviri, who had the charge of the Sibylline books, inspected them by the appointment of the Senate in dangerous junctures, and performed the sacrifices which they enjoined. These books were supposed to contain the fate of the Roman empire. They were burnt with the Capitol in the Marsic war, in the year of Rome 670. After this event, ambassadors were sent every where to collect the oracles of the Sibyls, (for there were other prophetic old women besides the one who came to Tarquin,) and from various verses thus collected, the Quinde-

cenviri made out new books, which Augustus deposited in two gilt cases under the base of the statue of Apollo. Each of the priests had a brazen tripod, as being sacred to Apollo, similar to that on which the priestess at Delphi sat.

Septemviri were those who prepared the sacred feasts at games, processions, and other solemn occasions. It was customary among the Romans to decree feasts to the gods, in order to appease their wrath.

Fratres Ambarvales were twelve in number, who offered up sacrifices for the fertility of the soil. They were attended with a crowd of country people, having their temples bound with garlands of oak leaves, dancing and singing the praises of Ceres, to whom libations were made of honey, diluted with milk and wine. These sacred rites were performed before they began to reap.

Curiones, the priests who performed the public sacred rites in each curiæ, thirty in number. Feciales, sacred persons employed in declaring war and making peace.

The priests of particular gods were called Flamines. The Flamen of Jupiter was an office of great dignity.

Salii, the priests of Mars, twelve in number. Luperci, the priests of Pan, so called from a wolf, because that god was supposed to keep the wolves from the sheep. The place where he was worshipped was called the Lupercal, and his festival Lupercalia, when the Luperci ran about, almost undressed, with thongs of goat leather in their hands, with which they struck those whom they met.

As the Luperci were the most ancient order of priests, said to have been instituted by Evander, so they continued the longest, not being abolished till the time of Anastasius. A. D. 518.

Potitii and Pinarii, the priests of Hercules.

Galli, the priests of Cybele, the mother of the gods. The Corybantes used to carry round the image of Cybele, with the gestures of persons deranged, rolling their heads, beating their breasts, to the sound of the flute, making a great noise with cymbals and drums, sometimes cutting their arms and uttering dreadful predictions.

Virgines Vestales, Vestal Virgins, consecrated to the worship of Vesta. They were instituted by Numa, and were four in number, and two were afterwards added. When a vacancy occurred a selection was made from among the people from twenty girls above six, and under sixteen years of age. The selection was at first determined by lot, but afterwards by the

Chief Pontiff. They were bound to their ministry for thirty years. The first ten years they learned the sacred rites, for the next ten they performed them; and for the last ten taught the younger virgins. Their office was to keep the sacred fire always burning; to keep the Palladium; and to perform the sacred rites of the goddess. They enjoyed great honors and privileges. If any one violated her vow, she was buried alive.

Respecting the emoluments of the priests, we have no certain information. There is no mention of any fixed annual salary.

#### THE PLACES AND RITES OF THE ROMAN RELIGION.

The places dedicated to the worship of the gods were called Temples; a small temple *Sacellum*, (chapel.) The worship consisted chiefly of prayers, vows, and sacrifices. No act of religious worship was performed without prayer. The words were thought of the greatest importance, and varied according to the nature of the sacrifice. In the day time the gods were thought to remain for the most part in heaven, but to go up and down during the night to observe the actions of men. Those who prayed stood usually with their heads covered, looking towards the east. A priest pronounced the words before them; they frequently touched the altars or the knees of the images of the gods, turned themselves round in a circle towards the right; sometimes put their right hand to their mouth, and also prostrated themselves on the ground.

The ancient Romans used with the same solemnity to offer up vows. They vowed temples, games, sacrifices, gifts, a certain part of the plunder of a city. Sometimes they wrote their vows on paper or waxen tablets, sealed them up, and fastened them with wax to the knees of the images of the gods, the knee being supposed to be the seat of mercy. They who implored the aid of the gods, used to lie in their temples to receive from them responses in their sleep. The sick in particular did so in the temple of *Æsculapius*. Those saved from shipwreck used to hang up their clothes in the temple of *Neptune*, with a picture representing the circumstances of their danger and escape. Soldiers when discharged suspended their arms to *Mars*, gladiators their swords to *Hercules*, and poets, when they had finished a work, the fillets of their hair to *Apollō*.

Augustus, having lost a number of ships in a storm,

expressed his resentment against Neptune, by ordering that his image should not be carried in procession with those of the other gods, at the next solemnity of the Circensian games.

Thanksgivings were made to the gods for benefits received, and on all fortunate events. It was however believed that the gods after remarkable success, used to send on men, by the agency of Nemesis, a reverse of fortune. To avoid which, as is thought, Augustus, in consequence of a dream, every year, on a certain day, begged an alms from the people, holding out his hand to such as offered them.

When a general had obtained a signal victory, a thanksgiving (supplicatio) was decreed by the Senate to be made in all the temples, and what was called a Lectisternium, when couches were spread for the gods, as if they were going to partake of a feast, and their images taken from the pedestals, and placed on the couches round the altars, which were loaded with the richest dishes. A supplication was also decreed in time of danger or public distress, when the women prostrating themselves on the ground, swept the temples with their hair.

Those who sacrificed to the celestial gods were clothed in white, they bathed the whole body, made libations by heaving the liquor out of the cup, and prayed with the palms of their hands raised to heaven. Those who sacrificed to the infernal gods were clothed in black, only sprinkled their bosoms with water, made libations by turning the hands, threw the cup into the fire, prayed with their palms downwards, and struck the ground with their feet. It was necessary that the animals should be without spot or blemish. They were adorned with fillets, ribbons, and crowns; and their horns were gilt. The victim was led with a slack rope, that it might not seem to be brought by force. After silence was ordered, a salted cake was sprinkled on the head of the beast, and frankincense and wine poured between the horns, the priest having first tasted the wine himself, and given it to be tasted by those who stood next to him. The priest plucked the highest hairs between the horns, and threw them into the fire. The victim was struck with an axe or a mall by order of the priest. Then it was stabbed with knives, and the blood caught in goblets was poured on the altar. The beast was then flayed and dissected. Sometimes it was all burnt, and called holocaustum; but usually only a part, and what remained was divided between the priests and the person who offered the sacrifice. These rites were common to the Romans with the Greeks. The aruspices,



soothsayers, then inspected the entrails. If the signs were not favorable another victim was offered, and sometimes several. The liver was the part chiefly inspected, and supposed to give the most certain presages of futurity. After the entrails had been inspected, the parts of the animal which appertained to the gods were sprinkled with meal, wine, and frankincense, and burnt on the altar. When the sacrifice was finished, the priest having washed his hands, and offered certain prayers, again made a libation, and then the people were dismissed in a set form. After the sacrifice followed a feast. Sacrifices were of different kinds; some were stated, others occasional.

Human sacrifices were also offered among the Romans. In the first ages of the republic, human sacrifices seem to have been offered annually, and it was not till the year of Rome 657, ninety-six years before the birth of Christ, that a decree of the Senate was made to prohibit them. There were however two men slain as victims with the usual solemnities in the Campus Martius as late as the time of Julius Cæsar, forty years before Christ. And Augustus ordered four hundred Senators and Knights, who had sided with Antony, to be sacrificed as victims on the altar of Julius Cæsar. In like manner, Sex. Pompeius threw into the sea not only horses, but also men alive, as victims to Neptune. Boys used to be cruelly put to death, even in the time of Cicero and Horace, for magical purposes.

Altars and temples afforded an asylum or place of refuge among the Greeks and Romans, chiefly to slaves from the cruelty of their masters, to insolvent debtors and criminals.

In the phrase, *Pro aris et focus*, *Ara* is put for the altar in the middle of the house, where the *Penates* were worshipped; and *Focus* for the hearth in the hall, where the *Lares* were worshipped. There was a secret place in the temple into which none but the priest entered, which was called *Adytum*.

## CHAPTER III.

### SECTION I.

#### ROMAN GAMES.

Games among the ancient Romans constituted a part of religious worship. They were of different kinds at different periods of the republic. At first, they were always consecrated to some god; and were either stated (*Ludi Stati*,) or vowed by generals in war, (*Votive*,) or celebrated on extraordinary occasions. At the end of every 110 years games were celebrated for the safety of the empire, for three days and three nights, to Apollo and Diana, called *Ludi Sæculares*. But they were not regularly performed at those periods. The most famous games were those celebrated at the *Circus Maximus*; hence called *Ludi Circenses*.

The *Circus Maximus* was first built by *Tarquinius Priscus*, fifth king of Rome, about 560 years before Christ. It is said to have contained at least 150,000 persons, according to *Pliny* 250. Its circumference was a mile. Before the games began, the images of the gods were led along in procession on carriages and in frames, or on men's shoulders, with a great train of attendants, followed by combatants, dancers, musicians, &c. When the procession was over, the consuls and priests performed sacred rites.

The shows (*spectacula*) exhibited in the *Circus Maximus* were chiefly the following:

1. Chariot and horse races, of which the Romans were extravagantly fond. The charioteers were distributed into four parties or factions, from their different dress or livery;—the white; the red; the sky colored; the green; to which *Domitian* added two, called the golden and purple. The spectators favored one or the other, as humor or caprice inclined them. It was not the swiftness of the horses, nor the art of the men, that attracted them; but merely the dress. In the time of *Justinian*, no less than thirty thousand men are said to have lost their lives at *Constantinople* in a tumult raised

by contention among the partizans of these several colors. The victor, being proclaimed by the voice of a herald, was crowned and received a prize in money of considerable value. Palms were first given to the victors at games, after the manner of the Greeks.

2. Contests of agility and strength, of which there were five kinds; running; leaping; boxing; wrestling; and throwing the quoit. They contended, almost undressed, whence the term *Gymnasium*.

The *Athletæ* were anointed with a glutinous ointment; boxers covered their hands with a kind of gloves, which had lead or iron sewed into them.

The athletic games among the Greeks were called *Iselastic*, because victors drawn by white horses, and wearing crowns on their heads (of olive, if victors at the Olympic games; of laurel at the Pythian; parsley at the Nemean; and of pine at the Isthmian) were conducted with great pomp into their respective cities, which they entered through a breach in the walls for that purpose; intimating, as Plutarch observes, that a city which produced such brave citizens had little occasion for the defence of walls. They received for life an annual stipend from the public.

3. *Ludus Trojæ*, a mock fight performed by young men on horseback, revived by Julius Cæsar, and frequently celebrated by the succeeding emperors.

4. *Venatio*, or the fighting of wild beasts with one another, or with men called *Bestiarii*, who were either forced to this by way of punishment, as the primitive Christians often were; or, fought voluntarily. An incredible number of animals of various kinds was brought from all quarters, for the entertainment of the people, and at an immense expense. They were kept in enclosures, called *Vivaria*, till the day of exhibition. Pompey in his second consulship, exhibited at once five hundred lions, who were all dispatched in five days; and also eighteen elephants.

5. The representation of a horse and foot battle, and also of an encampment or a siege.

6. The representation of a sea-fight, (*Naumachia*), which was at first made in the *Circus Maximus*. Augustus dug a lake near the Tiber for this purpose, and Domitian built a naval theatre. The combatants were usually composed of captives, or malefactors, who fought to death, unless saved by the clemency of the emperor. If any thing deemed unlucky happened at the games, they were renewed.

## SECTION II.

## SHOWS OF GLADIATORS.

Shows of Gladiators seem to have taken their rise from the custom of slaughtering captives at the tombs of those heroes who were slain in battle to appease their manes. Gladiators were first exhibited at Rome by two brothers called Bruti at the funeral of their father, and for some time they were exhibited only on such occasions, but afterwards by magistrates, to entertain the people, chiefly at the Saturnalia and feasts of Minerva. Incredible numbers of men were destroyed in this manner. After the triumph of Trajan over the Dacians, spectacles were exhibited for one hundred and twenty-three days, in which eleven thousand animals of different kinds were killed, and ten thousand gladiators fought. The emperor Claudius, although naturally of a gentle disposition, is said to have been rendered cruel by often attending the spectacles.

Gladiators were kept and maintained in schools by persons called Lanistæ, who purchased and trained them. When they were exercised they fenced with wooden swords. At first they were composed of captives and slaves, or of condemned malefactors. But afterwards free born citizens, induced by hire or inclination, some even of noble birth, and what is still more wonderful, women of quality sometimes fought in the arena. Gladiators were distinguished by their armour and manner of fighting. Some were called *Secutores*, whose arms were a helmet, a shield, and a sword, or a leaden bullet. With them were usually matched the *Retiarii*, who were dressed in a short tunic, but wore nothing on their heads. Each of them bore in his left hand a three-pointed lance called *Trideus*, and in his right a net, with which he attempted to entangle his adversary by casting it over his head, and suddenly drawing it together, and then with his trident he slew his antagonist. But if he missed his aim, by either throwing the net too short, or too far, he instantly betook himself to flight, and endeavored to prepare his net for a second cast, while his antagonist as swiftly pursued to prevent his design by dispatching him. Some gladiators fought from chariots, after the manner of the Britons and Gauls; others from horseback and with their eyes shut. Gladiators were exhibited sometimes at the funeral pile, often in the Forum, which was then adorned with statues and pictures; but usually in the Amphitheatre, so called because it

was seated all round, like two theatres joined. Amphitheatres were at first temporary, and made of wood. The first of stone was built in the reign of Augustus. The largest was that begun by Vespasian and completed by Titus, now called Colisæum, from the Colossus, a large statue of Nero which stood near it. It was of an oval form, and is said to have contained eighty-seven thousand spectators. The ruins still remain. The Arena or place where the gladiators fought was covered with sand or saw-dust, to prevent the combatants from sliding, and to absorb the blood. The part next the Arena, secured with a parapet against the irruption of wild beasts, contained seats for the Senators; where was also an elevated pulpit or tribunal for the emperor, covered with a canopy like a pavilion. Here also sat the person who exhibited the games, and the Vestal Virgins. The Equites or knights sat in fourteen rows covered with cushions behind the Senators, and the people behind them on the bare stone. Anciently, women were not allowed to attend the gladiatorial exhibitions without permission, but this restriction was afterwards removed, and Augustus assigned them a particular place in the highest seats of the amphitheatre. There were secret tubes, from which the spectators were sprinkled with perfumes issuing from certain figures. On the day of the exhibition, the gladiators were led along the arena in procession. They were then matched in pairs, and their swords examined. As a prelude to the battle, they fought with wooden swords. On a signal given with a trumpet, they assumed their proper arms, adjusted themselves with great care, and stood in a particular posture. When any gladiator was wounded, the people exclaimed *habet, he has got it*. The gladiator lowered his arm as a sign of being vanquished; but his fate depended on the pleasure of the people, who, if they wished him to be saved, pressed down their thumbs; if to be slain, they turned them up, and ordered him to receive the sword, which gladiators usually submitted to with amazing fortitude. The rewards given to the victor were a palm, a palm crown, with ribbons of different colors hanging down from it; money, or a rod or wooden sword, as a sign of his being discharged from fighting. The spectators expressed the same eagerness by betting on different gladiators, as in the Circus.

The people used to remain all day at an exhibition of gladiators, without intermission till it was finished, but at a subsequent period they were dismissed to take their dinners. Shows of gladiators were prohibited by Constantine, but not entirely

suppressed till the time of Honorius, A. D. 420. This is one of the many glorious triumphs of the mild religion of Christ over the cruel customs of the Roman world.

### SECTION III.

#### DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENTS.

Stage plays were borrowed from Etruria, and were at first only a dance to a flute, without any verse. Afterwards the entertainment was improved, and a dramatic composition was contrived called *Satyræ*, satires, because they were filled with various matter, and written in various kinds of verse. These were set to music, and repeated with suitable gestures, accompanied with the flute and dancing. They contained much ridicule and smart repartee. At length a regular play was written in the year of Rome 512, and the author was the actor of his own compositions. Being obliged by the audience frequently to repeat the same part, he asked permission to employ a boy to sing to the flute, whilst he acted what was sung. Hence actors used always to have a person at hand to sing to them, and the colloquial part only was left them to repeat; and there was commonly a song at the end of every act. Plays were afterwards greatly improved at Rome from the model of the Greeks by *Nævius*, *Ennius*, *Plautus*, *Cæcilius*, *Terence*, &c. After playing was converted into an art, the Roman youth, leaving regular plays to be acted by professed performers, reserved to themselves the acting of ludicrous pieces or farces, interlarded with much buffoonery, when the players and musicians had left the stage, to remove the painful impressions of tragic scenes.

Dramatic entertainments, in their improved state, were chiefly of three kinds, Comedy, Tragedy, and Pantomimes. Comedy was a representation of common life, written in a familiar style, and usually with a happy issue. The design of it was to expose vice and folly. Tragedy is the representation of some one serious and important action, in which illustrious persons are introduced, written in an elevated style, and generally with an unhappy issue. Its great end was to excite the passions, chiefly pity and horror, to inspire a love of virtue and an abhorrence of vice. *Thespis*, a native of Attica, is said to have been the inventor of tragedy about 536 years before Christ. He went about with his actors from village to village in a cart, in which a temporary stage was

erected, on which they played and sung, having their faces besmeared with the lees of wine. Thespis was succeeded by Æschylus, who erected a permanent stage, and was the inventor of the mask, of the long flowing robe, and of the high-heeled shoe or buskin, which tragedians wore. After Æschylus followed Sophocles and Euripides, who brought tragedy to the highest perfection. Between the acts of a tragedy were introduced a number of singers, called the Chorus, who appear to have been always present on the stage. The music was chiefly that of the flute. Pantomimes were representations by dumb show, in which the actors expressed every thing by dancing and gestures. Pompey was the first who reared a theatre of hewn stone; it contained forty thousand spectators.

## SECTION IV.

### CUSTOMS OF THE ROMANS.

The distinguishing part of the Roman dress was the Toga or gown. It was a loose flowing woollen robe, which covered the whole body, round, and was close at the bottom, but open at the top down to the girdle, without sleeves, so that the right arm was at liberty. The form was different at different times. None but Roman citizens were permitted to wear it. Under the emperors, the Toga was in a great measure disused. The ancient Romans had no other clothing; afterwards they wore below the Toga a white woollen vest, called Tunica. They had shoes something like ours, and a slipper or sandal, which covered only the sole of the foot. They generally went with their heads uncovered except at sacred rites, games, festivals, on a journey, and in war. The women used to dress their hair in the form of a helmet. They anointed it with the richest perfumes, and adorned it with gold, pearls, and precious stones, sometimes with crowns and chaplets of flowers. They seldom went abroad, but on such occasions they wore veils. In private and public mourning they laid aside their ornaments. No ornament was more generally worn than rings. The senators wore golden and the plebeians iron rings. A ring used to be given by a man to a woman whom he was about to marry, as a pledge of their intended union. The ancient Romans suffered their beards to grow; but afterwards the custom of shaving was introduced. Their hair was worn usually short, but was sometimes allowed to grow in honor of

some divinity. In grief and mourning also their hair and beard remained uncut. The philosophers used to let their beards grow to give them an air of gravity.

The principal meal of the Romans was what they called *Cæna*, supper, which was taken at three in the afternoon. The ancient Romans lived on the simplest fare, chiefly on bread and pot-herbs; and the chief magistrates, when out of office, cultivated the ground with their own hands, sat down to the same board, and partook of the same food, as their servants. Not unfrequently they dressed their own dinner; or had it brought them to the field by their wives. Of the simplicity of manners which characterized the ancient Romans, we have many interesting accounts in their history. On an occasion of great danger, Cincinnatus, being appointed Dictator, was found by the messengers of the Senate in the midst of his little field, guiding his plough. With unaffected simplicity yielding to the call of his country, he turned round to his wife, and said, "I am afraid our crop for this year must remain unsown."

Pyrrhus, desirous of securing the interest of Fabricius, resolved to bestow on him such riches, as should place him on a level with the most opulent of his countrymen. But he refused all his offers, and said, "What need, think you, have I of the wealth you offer? My labors provide me with sustenance, and obtain for me appetite and sleep. I have no cares, and my mind is serene and cheerful. My countrymen listen willingly to my advice, and confide to me the most important trusts: they do not despise me for my poverty; but consider it, as it is, my greatest honor. Two years ago I commanded their armies, took several opulent cities, and deposited four hundred talents in the public treasury, without reserving any thing for myself. Keep your offers, for men over whose minds such offers may bear sway." But when riches were introduced by the extension of conquest, luxury seized all ranks, and the pleasures of the table became the chief object of attention. In the early part of their history, they sat at meals; afterwards the custom of reclining was introduced, but only at supper. Couches were arranged round the table, on each of which three guests might recline. The limbs were stretched at full length; the upper part of the body reclined on the left arm; the head was a little raised, and the back supported by cushions. We do not read of their using knives or forks; and hence before they began to eat, they always washed their hands; and each guest seems to have brought with him a towel,



into which he sometimes put part of the entertainment to carry home to his slaves. Before supper they bathed, preparatory to which, they took various kinds of exercise, as the ball or tennis, throwing the javelin and the quoit, and riding, running, or leaping. Every bath was well supplied with scrapers, rubbing cloths, and oil.

They began their feasts with prayers and libations to the gods. They usually threw a part into the fire as an offering to the Lares; and when they drank, they poured out a part on the table in honor of some god. The table was consecrated by setting on it the images of the Lares, and also salt holders, salt being held in great veneration. As there were no inns, hospitality was much cultivated; and the Roman nobility used to build apartments for strangers. The Romans usually began their entertainments with eggs, and ended with fruits. When a master wanted a slave to bring him any thing, he made a noise with his fingers. An uncommon dish was introduced with the sound of the flute, and the servants were crowned with flowers. During the time of supper, the guests were entertained with music and dancing; sometimes with pantomimes and play-actors; with fools and buffoons, and even with gladiators; but others, desirous of mental improvement, passed the time in listening to select passages from books, and engaging in literary conversation. It was not uncommon to take a vomit after a sumptuous entertainment. Their ordinary drink was wine, diluted with water. During the intervals of drinking they often played at dice. They ended their repasts as they began, with libations and prayers.

**Marriage.**—Polygamy was forbidden. No young man or woman was allowed to marry without the consent of parents or guardians. There was a meeting of friends to settle the articles of the marriage contract, which were written on tablets. The most solemn form of marriage was when the Chief Pontiff united the parties in the presence of at least ten witnesses, by a set form of words, and by tasting a cake made of salt, water, and flour, which was offered with a sheep in sacrifice to the gods. Sometimes a man and woman were married by delivering to each other a small piece of money, and repeating certain words. The bride bound the door-posts of her husband with woollen fillets, anointed them with the fat of swine or wolves, to avert fascination or enchantments, whence she was called *Uxor*, (quasi *Unxor*.) She was lifted over the threshold, or she gently stepped over it. It was thought ominous to touch it because the threshold was sacred to Vesta. Upon her entry

the keys of the house were delivered to her; and a sheep's skin was spread below her, intimating that she was to work at the spinning of wool. Both she and her husband touched fire and water, as the origin of all things.

*Funerals.*—The Romans paid the greatest attention to funeral rites, because they believed that the souls of the unburied were not admitted to the abodes of the dead, or at least wandered a hundred years along the river Styx, before they were allowed to cross it; for which reason, if the bodies of their friends could not be found, they erected to them an empty tomb, (Cenotaph,) at which they performed the usual solemnities; and if they saw a dead body they always threw some earth upon it. Hence no kind of death was so much dreaded as that by shipwreck. When persons were at the point of death, their nearest relations endeavored to catch their last breath with their mouth; for they believed that the soul went out at the mouth. After the body had been bathed with warm water and anointed with perfumes, it was dressed in the best robe which had been worn. The body was laid on a couch at the vestibule, with the feet outwards, as if about to take its last departure. Then a lamentation was made. A small coin was put into the mouth to give to Charon for the freight. A branch of cypress was placed at the door, to prevent the Chief Pontiff from entering, who would have been polluted by looking at a dead body. At first the Romans usually interred their dead; under the emperors the custom of burning became almost universal, but after the prevalence of Christianity, it fell into disuse. The body was carried out with the feet foremost, on a couch covered with rich cloth, supported commonly on the shoulders of the nearest relations. In the funeral procession first went musicians, then mourning women hired to lament and sing the funeral song, or praises of the deceased, to the sound of the flute. Next came players and buffoons, who danced and sung; these were followed by the freed-men of the deceased. Before the corpse were carried the images of the deceased and of his ancestors. If the deceased had distinguished himself in war, the crowns and rewards which he had received for his valor were displayed, together with the spoils and standards he had taken from the enemy. At the funeral of an illustrious citizen, an appropriate oration was delivered from the Rostra in the Forum; after which the body was carried out of the city to the place of burial or burning. On the funeral pile, made in the form of an altar, the corpse with the couch was placed; the eyes were

opened, and the nearest relations kissed the body. Various animals were slaughtered at the pile and thrown into it; and gladiators fought round it. The bones and ashes, besprinkled with the richest perfumes, were put into an urn; in which was placed sometimes a small glass vial full of tears. It was then solemnly deposited in the sepulchre. When the body was not burnt, it was put with all its ornaments into a coffin usually of stone, sometimes of Assian stone, from Assos, which consumed the body in forty days; and was hence called Sarcophagus. Oblations and sacrifices to the dead were made at various times. The sepulchre was then bespread with flowers, and covered with fillets. Before it was a little altar, on which libations were made, and incense burnt.

The highest honors were decreed to illustrious persons after death. The Romans worshipped their founder as a god. Hence, afterwards the solemn consecration of the emperors, (apotheosis,) by a decree of the Senate, who were thus said to be ranked in the number of the gods. Temples and priests were assigned them. They were invoked with prayers. Men swore by their name or genius, and offered victims on their altars.

## SECTION V.

### ROMAN METHOD OF WRITING.

Men in a savage state have always been found ignorant of alphabetic characters, and before this art is known, they have employed various methods to preserve the memory of important events, and communicate their thoughts to those at a distance. Important events were commemorated by raising altars or heaps of stones, planting groves, instituting games and festivals, and by historical songs. The first attempt towards the representation of thought was the painting of objects. The Egyptians were the first who contrived certain signs or symbols called Hieroglyphics (from two Greek words signifying sacred and to carve) by which they represented several things by one figure. The Egyptians and the Phœnicians contended for the honor of having invented letters. Cadmus first introduced them into Greece near 1500 years before Christ. The most ancient materials for writing were stones, then plates of brass, or of lead, and wooden tablets. Capital letters only were used. The materials for writing first used in common were the leaves or inner bark of trees, whence

we have the terms leaves of paper, and liber, a book. Afterwards linen, and tables covered with wax were used. About the time of Alexander the Great, 320 years before Christ, paper began to be manufactured from an Egyptian reed, called papyrus, whence our word paper is derived. After this the art of preparing skins was discovered, and most of the ancient manuscripts are written on parchment. The art of making paper from cotton or silk was invented in the East about the beginning of the tenth century, and an imitation of it from linen rags in the fourteenth.

The instrument used for writing on waxen tables, the leaves or bark of trees, plates of brass or lead, was an iron pencil with a sharp point, called stylus. The stylus was broad at one end, so that when they wished to correct any thing, they turned the stylus, and smoothed the wax, that they might write on it anew. When composing, an author usually wrote first on these tables, and afterwards transcribed on paper or parchment. As the Romans never wore a sword or dagger in the city, they not unfrequently used the stylus as a weapon. They wrote only on one side of the paper or parchment, and joined one sheet to the end of another, till they finished what they had to write, and then rolled it up on a cylinder or staff; whence we have the word volume or scroll. All kinds of writings were called literæ, letters, but the word is most frequently applied to epistolary writings. The epistles were sent by a messenger, commonly a slave.

## SECTION VI.

### BUILDINGS OF THE ROMANS.

The houses of the Romans were, during two or three centuries after the foundation of the city, low cottages, thatched with straw; but after it was burnt by the Gauls, 388 in the year of Rome, they were built in a more solid and commodious style; even then however little attention was paid to the regularity of the streets. In the time of Augustus, the city was adorned with magnificent buildings; but private houses seem in general to have been incommodious, and even dangerous from their height. After the conflagration in the time of Nero, who is supposed to have been the cause, and to have imputed the crime to the Christians, for which great numbers were burnt to death, the city was rebuilt with regularity and splendor.

The small houses dug out of the ruins of Pompeii bear little resemblance to the houses of opulent citizens. A letter of Pliny's, which will be found in another part of this work, furnishes the most particular and interesting account we have of the mansions of the nobility. The houses of the ancient Romans admitted the light through apertures: properly wind-doors, (windows.) Under the first emperors a transparent stone, called *lapis specularis*, and split into thin leaves like slate, was used in the principal apartments of great houses to exclude the air: paper, linen cloth, and horn were also used for the same purpose. Glass windows are not mentioned till about the middle of the fourth century. Pliny informs us, that glass was accidentally discovered in Phœnicia by mariners burning nitre in the sand of the sea shore. Glass was used by the Romans for mirrors and other purposes. In England glass windows were introduced A. D. 1177. It is very remarkable that the Romans did not discover the very simple expedient of affording a passage for the smoke by means of chimneys; and we have frequent allusions to the annoyance which they experienced from it. They used portable furnaces and burnt wood, which they carefully dried and anointed with the lees of oil to diminish the quantity of smoke. In the Atrium or hall the mistress of the family, with her maid servants, were employed in spinning and weaving. The principal manufacture was of wool. Linen, though highly valued, was seldom worn. The Romans used every method to encourage domestic industry; but as luxury increased, women of rank and fortune committed spinning and weaving entirely to their slaves.

Of the public buildings of the Romans, the most remarkable were, 1st, The Capitol, which was the highest part of the city and strongly fortified, was in the form of a square, extending nearly two hundred feet on each side, and contained three temples, consecrated to Jupiter, Minerva, and Juno. It was most magnificently adorned. The gates were of brass, and the gilding on the roof and other parts cost 12,000 talents, more than seven millions of dollars. The ascent from the Forum was by an hundred steps; 2nd, The Pantéhon built by Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus. It was consecrated in the seventh century to the Virgin Mary and All-Saints; 3d, Temple of Apollo built by Augustus, in which was a public library, where authors used to recite their compositions, sometimes before select judges, who passed sentence on their comparative merits; the temples of Diana, Janus, Saturn, Mars, Juno, Venus, Minerva, Neptune, &c.; the Odeum, where musicians

and actors rehearsed; Nymphæum, adorned with statues of Nymphs and abounding with fountains; the Circi for the celebration of games; Stadia for the running of men and horses; Palestræ, Gymnasia, and Xysti for wrestling and boxing; Naumachiæ for naval engagements; Curiæ for religious service; Fora, where assemblies of the people were held, justice administered, and public business transacted; Porticus or piazzas, the most splendid ornaments of the city; Columns of the Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Tuscan, and Composite (composed of the first three) orders; Triumphal Arches; Aqueducts, some of which brought water to Rome through rocks and mountains and over valleys, above the distance of sixty miles; Cloacæ, sewers, so lofty and spacious that vessels might sail in them; Bridges, the most remarkable of which was that of Trajan over the Danube. But the Viæ, the public roads, were the greatest and most useful of all the Roman works. These extended to the utmost limits of the empire, from the Pillars of Hercules to the Euphrates, and the southern confines of Egypt. The Romans had no public posts, but horses at the expense of the emperor, were kept in constant readiness for the public service, at the distance of half a day's journey.

## CHAPTER IV.

### SECTION I.

#### THE SENATE.

Rome was founded by Romulus 753 years before Christ. The people were divided into two ranks, Patricians and Plebeians, connected together as Patrons and Clients. At a subsequent period, a third order was added, called Equites, or Knights. The Senate was instituted by Romulus to be the perpetual council of the Republic. It consisted only of Patricians, and was limited to a hundred, but after the admission of the Sabines another hundred was chosen from them. Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of Rome, added one hundred more, which number continued with little variation to the time of Sylla, eighty years before Christ. He increased the number; and, in the time of Julius Cæsar there were nine hundred Senators; but this number, as is afterwards stated, was much reduced by Augustus. At first, the Senators were chosen by the kings, but after their expulsion to the time of the re-establishment of the monarchy, the practice varied, not only with respect to the constituents, but also the qualification of the person nominated. The emperors created whom they pleased. The title, *princeps senatus*, although it inferred no command nor emolument, was esteemed a peculiar honor, and was retained for life. Anciently, there was no property qualification; but, as the State increased in wealth, and decreased in virtue, a considerable fortune was requisite; and at the end of every fifth year, when the Senate was reviewed by the censors, every Senator, whose fortune was reduced below a certain amount, was passed over in reading the roll, and he was excluded. The Senate met at stated times, but no decree could be passed unless there was a quorum, of which the number is uncertain. Augustus enacted, that an ordinary meeting of the Senate should not be held oftener than twice a month, under the specious pretext of indulgence, but with

the real design of diminishing their authority. When the house was assembled, the presiding magistrate, the consul or prætor, laid the business before them in a set form, and asked their opinions, beginning with the consul elect. Nothing could be laid before the Senate against the will of the consuls, unless by the tribunes of the people, who might also give the negative against any decree, by the solemn word Veto. Too much of the time of the house was unprofitably spent in long speeches, to which no limit was fixed. On one occasion, when Cato, to prevent the passing of a bill, attempted to waste the day in speaking, Julius Cæsar tyrannically ordered him to be led to prison. The house rose to follow him, and Cæsar was obliged to retract his imperious mandate. The speaker usually addressed himself to the whole assembly by the title of Patres Conscripti; sometimes however to the President, and occasionally to both. The majority of votes on any measure was ascertained by a division of the members who went to different parts of the house. The proceedings of the Senate appear to have been generally published, and public registers were kept of what was done in the assemblies of the people and courts of justice; also of births and funerals, of marriages, and divorces. The decrees of the Senate before the year of the city 306 were suppressed or altered at the pleasure of the consuls; but they were very rarely, during the flourishing period of the Republic, reversed. While a question was under debate, every one was at liberty to express his dissent, but when once determined, it was the common concern of each member to support the opinion of the majority.

The power of the Senate was at some periods of the Roman government almost supreme, but under the emperors the authority was in general merely nominal. Under the regal government established by Romulus, the Senate deliberated upon such public affairs as the king proposed to them; and he was said to act by their counsel. Tarquin, the last of the seven kings, who was expelled for his tyranny, treated the Senate with haughty contempt, and put to death the principal members. After his expulsion in the year 243 of Rome, its authority was almost unlimited for several years. The people justly complained, and felt that they had exchanged the tyranny of one whose interests were identified with their own, for the insolent oppression of a privileged class, constantly aiming to enhance their own authority at their expense. The Plebeians took up arms in their own defence, seized on mons Sacer, and created tribunes, who attacked the authority of the Senate, and in



process of time greatly diminished it. The establishment of the right of the tribunes to veto the decrees of the Senate was the most important change in the Roman constitution; but means were often successfully used to defraud the people of this privilege. In all affairs of great importance, the method observed after the right of veto was obtained, was that the Senate should first deliberate and decree, and then the people order. But the Senate retained, by the custom of their ancestors, the guardianship of the public religion, the direction of the treasury, the settlement of the provinces, the nomination, and from their own body, of all ambassadors, the appointment of public thanksgivings for victories, the conferring the honor of a triumph on their victorious generals, of the title of king on any foreign prince, the inquisition of public crimes or treasons, and the power of interpreting the laws, and absolving men from their obligations, and even of abrogating them. They could postpone the assemblies of the people. But the power of the Senate was most conspicuous in civil dissensions, in which that solemn decree used to be passed, "that the consuls should take care that the republic should receive no harm." By this decree an absolute power was granted to the consuls to punish and put to death whom they pleased, without a trial; to raise forces, and carry on war without the order of the people.

The power of the Senate was shaken to its foundation by the most artful of all demagogues, Julius Cæsar, who, by basely flattering the people, broke down all the barriers of the constitution, and obtained supreme power. One who knew human nature has assured us, "That he who flattereth his neighbor, spreadeth a net for his feet." May the people of this great Commonwealth spurn with contempt the wretch that flatters them; and always "hold it mean to borrow aught from adulation."

## SECTION II.

### THE EQUITES OR KNIGHTS.

The Equites did not at first form a distinct order in the State. When Romulus divided the people into three tribes, he chose from each tribe a hundred of the most distinguished young men, who should serve on horseback, and be ready to guard his person. This number was afterwards much increas-

ed. Servius Tullius in the year of Rome 177 made eighteen centuries of Equities, choosing twelve new centuries from the chief men of the State, and made six others out of the three instituted by Romulus. Ten thousand pounds of brass were given to each of them to purchase horses; and a tax was laid on widows, who were exempt from other contributions, for maintaining their horses. Hence the origin of the Equestrian order, which was of the greatest utility in the State, as an intermediate bond between the Patricians and the Plebeians. They seem to have been reckoned a distinct order before the expulsion of the kings. After this event, all who were on horseback were not properly called knights, but only such as were chosen into the equestrian order, usually by the censor. They were presented by him with a horse at the public expense, and with a gold ring. The Equites were chosen promiscuously from the Patricians and Plebeians. Their office at first was to serve in the army, but they afterwards acted as judges and jurymen, and farmed the public revenues. Every fifth year they formed a splendid procession through the city from the Temple of Honor to the Capitol, riding on horseback, with wreaths of olive in their hands, dressed in their peculiar costume of a scarlet color, and bearing in their hands the military ornaments which they had received from their general, as a reward for their valor. At the same time they passed in review before the censor, and dismounting, led along their horses in their hands. If any one was deemed corrupt in his morals, or had diminished his fortune, or had not taken proper care of his horse, he was removed from the Equestrian order.

### SECTION III.

#### THE PLEBEIAN OR POPULAR ORDER.

All the other Roman citizens, besides Patricians and Equites, were called Plebs or Populus. Populus sometimes comprehends the whole nation, but Plebs is usually put for the lowest common people. The Plebs Rustica, the peasantry, was the more respectable class. The Plebs Urbana was composed of the poorer citizens, many of whom followed no trade, but were supported by the public and private largesses. In the latter ages of the empire, an immense quantity of corn was annually distributed among them at the public expense, five bushels monthly to each man. Their principal business was to attend

on the tribunes and popular magistrates in their assemblies. There were leading men among the populace, kept in pay by the seditious magistrates, who used for hire to stimulate them to the most daring outrages. The turbulence of the common people of Rome, the natural effect of idleness and unbounded licentiousness, is justly reckoned among the chief causes of the fall of the Republic. Trade and manufactures being considered as servile employments, they had no encouragement to industry; and the numerous spectacles which were exhibited, particularly the shows of gladiators, served to increase their natural ferocity. They were consequently, as we learn more particularly from Sallust's account of Cataline's conspiracy, always ready to join in any seditious movement.

That the Patricians and Plebeians might be connected by the strictest bonds, Romulus ordained that every Plebeian should choose from the Patricians any one he pleased as his patron, or protector, whose client he was called. It was the part of the patron to advise and defend his client, and to render him every needful assistance; and the client was under obligation to pay his patron every kind of respect, and serve him with his life and fortune in any extremity. It was unlawful for them to accuse or bear witness against each other; and whoever violated his engagement might be slain with impunity, as a victim devoted to Pluto and the infernal gods. It was esteemed highly honorable for a Patrician to have numerous clients, whether hereditary or acquired by his own merits.

#### SECTION IV.

##### NAMES OF THE ROMANS.

The Romans at first seem to have had but one name, or two. But when they were divided into tribes or clans, or families, they began commonly to have three. The surnames were derived from various circumstances, as Cato from wisdom; Calvus, bald; Crassus, fat; Macer, lean; from the habit of the body, &c. The eldest son of the family usually got the prænomen of his father; the rest were called from their uncles or other relations.

## SECTION V.

## SLAVES.

Men became slaves among the Romans, by being taken in war, by sale, by way of punishment, or from being born in a state of servitude. Fathers might sell their children for slaves, and insolvent debtors were given up to their creditors as slaves. The children of any female slave became the slaves of her master. There was no regular marriage amongst them. They were under absolute control, and might be scourged, branded, or put to death at the will of their owner. When punished capitally, they were in general crucified; but this mode of punishment was prohibited by Constantine. Slaves not only performed all domestic services, but were likewise employed in various arts and manufactures. Some were instructed carefully in literature and the liberal arts, and sold at a great price. Plutarch, in his life of Crassus, says, "that the revenue he drew from his mines was nothing in comparison of that produced by his slaves; so great a number had he of them, and all useful in life, as readers, amanuenses, book-keepers, stewards, and cooks. He used to attend to their education, and often gave them lessons himself." At one time, slaves were allowed the greatest freedom, especially at the Saturnalia, when they were served at table by their masters.

Various methods were used in giving a slave his liberty. Sometimes by having his name inserted in the Censor's roll; sometimes by will, and by taking him to the Consul or Praetor, and saying, "I desire that this man be free according to the custom of the Romans." The Praetor pronounced his freedom, and the lictor or master, turning him round in a circle, gave him a blow on the cheek. Other means were also used. When liberated the slaves shaved their heads in the temple of Feronia, and received a cap as a badge of liberty. They were also presented with a white robe and a ring; and prefixed the name of their patron to their own. Augustus ordained that no slave who, on account of any crime, had been bound, publicly whipped, branded in the face, or tortured, should ever obtain the freedom of the city, although freed by his master.

## CHAPTER V.

### RIGHTS OF ROMAN CITIZENS.

While Rome was but thinly inhabited, all that fixed their abode in the city or Roman territory obtained the right of citizens; and to increase the number, Romulus opened an asylum or sanctuary for fugitive slaves, insolvent debtors, and malefactors. Vanquished enemies, when transplanted to Rome, became citizens. And after the expulsion of Tarquin, and the burning of the city by the Gauls, great numbers were admitted to the rights of citizenship. Several foreign towns, called *Municipia*, partook of the freedom of the city. But when the Roman empire became widely extended, the right of citizenship was sparingly conferred. Augustus wished to enhance its dignity, and was not therefore so liberal in bestowing it. But the succeeding emperors bestowed the privilege on many cities and nations, and Caracalla on all the inhabitants of the Roman world, who were not in a state of slavery.

The private rights of Roman citizens were as follows: 1st, the right of liberty; 2d, the right of family; 3d, the right of a father; 4th, the right of legal property; 5th, the right of making a will and of succeeding to an inheritance; 6th, the right of tutelage, or wardship.

1st. The right of liberty comprehended security against the tyrannical treatment of magistrates, by appealing from them to the people, who were to determine the case; and protection from the insolence and tyranny of more powerful citizens. None but the whole Roman people in the *Comita Centuriata*, could pass sentence on the life of a Roman citizen. No magistrate was allowed to punish him with stripes or capitally. The single expression, "I am a Roman citizen," checked their severest decrees. Insolvent debtors, however, were used with great severity. They were bound in fetters, and often treated more harshly than the slaves. A law was, at a subsequent period, passed to mitigate this cruel treatment; but it did not

free the debtor from imprisonment. It was an act of justice to incarcerate and treat a fraudulent debtor as a heinous criminal; but the law of justice, as well as mercy, is violated by subjecting to any punishment the honest man, who, through unforeseen circumstances, is not able to fulfil his engagements.

2d. The right of family. Each gens, clan, and each family had certain sacred rights peculiar to itself, which went by inheritance in the same manner as effects. When heirs by the father's side of the same family failed, those of the same clan succeeded, in preference to relations by the mother's side of the same family. No one could pass from a Patrician family to a Plebeian, or from a Plebeian to a Patrician, unless by that form of adoption which could only be made at the *Comitia Curiata*.

3d. Rites of Marriage. No Roman citizen was permitted to marry a slave, a barbarian, or a foreigner, unless by the permission of the people. Intermarriages between the Patricians and Plebeians were at one time prohibited; but this law was not long in force.

4th. The Right of a Father. He had not only the power of life and death over his children; but could expose them when infants—a most barbarous custom which prevailed at Rome for many ages, as among the Greeks and other nations. A new born infant was not deemed legitimate, unless the father, or in his absence some person for him, lifted it from the ground, and placed it in his bosom. Even when his children were grown up, he might imprison, scourge, send them bound into the country, and put them to death by any punishment he pleased. A son could not acquire any property except with his father's consent. A daughter, by marriage, passed from the power of the father under that of the husband.

None but a Roman citizen could make a will. Testaments were usually subscribed by the testator, and generally by witnesses. A man might disinherit his own children. If the legacy was expressed in Greek, it was not valid.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE COMITIA CENTURIATA AND THE CENSUS.

The census was a numbering of the people with a valuation of their fortunes. It was ordained by Servius in the year of Rome 177, that all Roman citizens in town and country, should upon oath give in an estimate of their fortunes, tell the place of their abode, the names of their wives and children, and their own age, and that of their children, and the number of their slaves and freemen. He also divided the citizens into six classes, and each class into a number of centuries. There was the greatest number of centuries in the first class, which consisted of the richest citizens; and in the lowest class, which was the most numerous, there was but one century. When the people gave their votes, divided into clans and centuries, the assembly was called *Comitia Centuriata*. Here the vote of each citizen was not of equal force, as formerly in the *Comitia Curiata*, or the assemblies of the *Curiae*, but every thing was determined by a majority of centuries. Thus the chief power was vested in the nobility and most wealthy citizens. But these bore the taxes, and all public burdens in proportion. The institution of the census is considered as the basis of the Republic, and continued to be observed during the existence of liberty. It seems however to have been chiefly calculated to favor the interest of the Patricians, by connecting power with wealth, and to promote the military character of the Romans. It had much the appearance of a military muster, as anciently the people always went armed, and in martial order to hold their assemblies.

The candidates, so called from a white robe made particularly white and shining, (the toga of all the wealthy Romans was white,) endeavored to gain the favor of the people by every popular art—frequenting their houses, shaking hands with those they met, addressing them in a friendly manner, and calling them by name; prompted by a monitor, or nomenclator. Bribery was also commonly used, although forbidden

by law. Even Cato himself was guilty of sanctioning this infamous means of corruption. The stern advocate of liberty scrupled not to assist in undermining public principle, and yet had the inconsistency to complain of the degeneracy of the times. He lent his aid to sap the foundations of the glorious fabric which his ancestors had reared, and then like a coward laid violent hands upon himself to escape the crash of the impending ruin.



## CHAPTER VII.

### SECTION I.

#### MAGISTRATES.

The Regal Government subsisted at Rome for two hundred and forty-three years under seven kings, Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Martius, L. Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, and L. Tarquinius Superbus, all of whom, except the last, are thought by their conduct to have laid the foundations of the Roman greatness. The revolution in the government was brought about by L. Junius Brutus, whom Livy represents making the following animated address over the dead body of Lucretia :

“Yes, noble lady! I swear by this blood, which was once so pure, and which nothing but royal villainy could have polluted, that I will pursue Lucius Tarquinius the proud, his wicked wife and their children, with fire and sword, nor will I ever suffer any of that family, or of any other family whatsoever, to be King in Rome. Ye gods, I call you to witness this my oath! There, Romans, turn your eyes to that sad spectacle—the daughter of Lucretius, Collatinus’ wife. She died by her own hand. See there a noble lady, whom the lust of Tarquin reduced to the necessity of being her own executioner to attest her innocence. Hospitably entertained by her as a kinsman of her husband’s, Sextus, the perfidious guest, used brutal violence. The chaste, the generous Lucretia, could not survive the insult. Glorious woman! but once treated as a slave, she thought life no longer to be endured. Lucretia, a woman, disdained a life that depended on a tyrant’s will; and shall we, shall men, with such an example before our eyes, and after five and twenty years of ignominious servitude, shall we, through a fear of dying, defer one single instant to assert our liberty? No, Romans, now is the time; the favorable moment we have so

long waited for is come. Tarquin is not at Rome. The Patricians are at the head of the enterprize. The city is abundantly supplied with men, arms, and all things necessary. There is nothing wanting to secure the success, if our own courage do not fail us. Can all these warriors, who have ever been so brave when foreign enemies were to be subdued, or when conquests were to be made to gratify the ambition and avarice of Tarquin, be then only cowards, when they are to deliver themselves from slavery? Some of you are perhaps intimidated by the army which Tarquin now commands; the soldiers you imagine will take the part of their general. Banish so groundless a fear. The love of liberty is natural to all men. Your fellow citizens in the camp feel the weight of oppression with as quick a sense as you that are in Rome: they will as eagerly seize the occasion of throwing off the yoke. But let us grant there may be some among them, who through baseness of spirit, or a bad education, will be disposed to favor the tyrant. The number of these can be but small, and we have means sufficient in our hands to reduce them to reason. They have left us hostages more dear to them than life. Their wives, their children, their fathers, their mothers, are here in the city. Courage, Romans! the gods are for us: those gods, whose temples and altars the impious Tarquin has profaned with libations and sacrifices made with polluted hands, polluted with blood, and with numerous unexpiated crimes committed against his subjects. Ye gods, who protected our forefathers; ye genii, who watch for the preservation and glory of Rome, do you inspire us with courage and unanimity in this glorious cause, and we will to our last breath defend your worship from profanation."

The Consular State, or the Republic, lasted 464 years. Two supreme magistrates were annually elected, who had equal authority, that they might restrain one another, and not become insolent by their great power. He who had the greater number of votes, usually presided at the election of magistrates for the next year. They were at the head of the whole Republic. All other magistrates were subject to them except the Tribunes of the commons. They assembled the people and the Senate, laid before them what they pleased, and executed their decrees. The laws, which they proposed and passed, were commonly called by their name. They received all letters from the governors of provinces, and from foreign kings and states, and gave audience to ambassadors. They

levied soldiers, provided what was necessary for their support; appointed many of the military tribunes, the centurions and other officers; and had command over the provinces. In dangerous conjunctures, they were armed with absolute power by a decree of the Senate. Under the emperors, their power was merely nominal.

At first, the consuls were chosen only among the Patricians, but afterwards the Plebeians were eligible. This important change, although in reality owing to more important causes, was immediately occasioned by a trifling circumstance. M. Fabius Ambustus, a nobleman, had two daughters, the elder of whom was married to Sulpicius, a Patrician, and the younger to C. Licinius Stolo, a Plebeian. While the latter was one day visiting her sister, the lictor of Sulpicius, who was then military tribune, happened to strike the door with his rod, as was usual when that magistrate returned home from the forum. The younger Fabia, unacquainted with the custom, was frightened at the noise, which made her sister laugh and express surprise at her ignorance. This stung her to the quick; and upon her return she could not conceal her uneasiness. Her father seeing her dejected, asked her if all was well; but she at first would not give a direct answer; and it was with difficulty he, at last, drew from her a confession, that she was chagrined at being connected with a man who could not enjoy the same honors as her sister's husband. For although it had been ordained by law, that the military tribunes should be created promiscuously from the Patricians and Plebeians, yet for forty-four years after their first institution, in the year of the city 311 to 355, no one Plebeian had been created, and very few afterwards. Ambustus, therefore, consoled his daughter with assurances, that she should soon see the same honors at her own house, which she saw at her sister's. To effect this, he concerted measures with his son-in-law, and one L. Sextius, a spirited young man of Plebeian rank, who had every thing but birth to entitle him to the highest preferments.

Licinius and Sextius being created tribunes of the commons, got themselves continued in that office for ten years; for five years they suffered no curule magistrate to be created, and at last prevailed to get one of the consuls created from among the Plebeians. (Curule from *currus* a chariot used by the Roman magistrates, consuls, prætors, censors, and chief ædiles, whence they were called *Magistratus Curules*; and

the seat on which they sat the *Sella Curulis*, because they carried it with them in their chariots.)

*Prætor*.—The name of *Prætor* was anciently common to all the magistrates. But the office, to which the name *Prætor* became appropriated, was instituted to supply in the court of justice, the place of the Consuls, who were almost constantly engaged in military affairs. He was next in dignity to the consuls, and was at first created only among the Patricians, as a kind of compensation for the consulship being communicated to the Plebeians. But in the year of Rome 418, the Plebeians also became eligible. A second *Prætor* was afterwards made to administer justice to the foreigners who now flocked in great numbers to Rome; and subsequently the number was increased to six.

*Censors*.—The office of Censor was one of great importance, and it is called by Plutarch, the summit of all preferment.—The censors, for there were two, were at first elected for five years, but afterwards for one year and a half; they were at first chosen from the Patricians, but afterwards from the people also; they had to take an account of the number of the citizens, the value of their fortunes, and to inspect their morals. They also divided the citizens into classes and centuries, made arrangements for the building of the public works, had the charge of paving the streets, making roads, &c. Their power did not extend to public crimes that were punishable by law, but to matters of a private nature. Their office we should regard very inquisitorial and tyrannical, if now in use; for it interfered with matters affecting the private liberty of the subject, as the cultivation of his ground, the contraction of debts, and several domestic arrangements. But if the censors acted improperly they could be brought to trial. No one could be elected a second time to this office. Under the emperors it was abolished; but the chief parts of the office were exercised by them or other magistrates.

## SECTION II.

### TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE.

On the expulsion of Tarquin the aristocracy behaved with great insolence to the people. The haughty spirit which actuated the Patricians is admirably depicted by Shakspeare

in the character of Coriolanus, who was at this time the most distinguished general of the Roman army :

“For the mutable rank scented many, I say again  
In soothing them, we nourish 'gainst our Senate  
The cockle of rebellion, insolence, sedition,  
Which we ourselves have ploughed for, sow'd and scatter'd  
By mingling them with us, the honor'd number ;  
Who lack not virtue, no, nor power, but that  
Which we have given to beggars.  
What should the people do with these bald tribunes ?  
On whom depending, their obedience fails  
To the greater bench : in a rebellion  
Were they chosen. Despight o'erwhelm them ;  
The tongues of the common mouth. I do despise them,  
For they do prank them in authority  
Against all noble sufferance.  
Let's throw their power i' the dust.”

The Plebeians, especially the debtors, oppressed by usurious interest, turned their indignation against the Senate, and at length determined to submit no longer. Being led out of the city under pretence of a new war against the Æqui, they snatched up their ensigns and took possession of a neighboring mountain, where they quietly encamped. The Senate apprehending a civil war at last reluctantly sent several deputations to negotiate with the malecontents. On which occasion, Junius Brutus stepped forward and addressing his comrades said :

“Know you not that you are free ? Have not this camp and these arms convinced you that you are no longer under your tyrants ? These Patricians, so haughty and imperious, now send to court us ; they invite us as their fellow citizens to return into our community ; nay, some of our sovereigns, you see, are so gracious as to come to our very camp, to offer us a general pardon. But which of the two orders was it that first violated those laws of society, which ought to reign among the members of one and the same Republic ? This is the question. Scarcely was the war finished, when they forgot both our services and your oaths.”

The Senate promised a remission of all debts, and liberty to all debtors. On this concession the people seemed disposed to yield, but Brutus, by representing to them the little confidence which could be placed on the promises of the Senate under the

influence of fear, induced them to second him in making the following request: "Grant us," said he, "the privilege of creating annually, out of the body of the Plebeians, some magistrates, who shall have no other power but that of succoring the people, when injustice or violence is done to them, and of defending their rights both public and private." The proposition excited great surprise and apprehension in the Senate, but after a stormy debate, the majority yielded, and the just Magna Charta of Roman liberty was ratified. No single event in the civil history of Rome is of equal importance. The form of the government was changed. On the expulsion of Tarquin, the whole authority devolved upon the Senate and the opulent; but now, by the creation of Tribunes, a democracy rose into form, and the people by insensible degrees obtained possession of the greater share in the government. And had they not become corrupted by luxury, and yielded to the various artifices that were used to degrade them, and listened to the cunning devices of ambitious demagogues, who flattered them to their ruin,—no one in the present day would have dared to insult human nature, by denying the perpetuity of governments founded on the principle of the natural equality of man. The government of Rome was now established on a popular foundation. There was no obstruction to merit, and the most deserving were promoted; and the republic was managed for many years with quiet and moderation. The reign of liberty was the period of Roman virtue. Under the sublime influence of this spirit, Camillus said, (when the people in great consternation from the approach of the Gauls were debating whether they should not remove to Veii, a city much better built,) "Can you find in your hearts to quit these sacred seats? The gods have preserved them to you, and will you desert them? Here you were born: here the sons of Rome first learned those virtues which all the world must admire. With this hallowed residence you will resign your fortunes, your courage, and the memory and imitation of your great progenitors." And on another occasion, when they had agreed to disburse to Brennus a thousand pounds weight of gold, on condition that he would leave their territory, the same great hero, coming unexpectedly with a few of his officers to the spot, where the negotiation was going on, indignantly cried out, "Away with your gold into the Capitol; and you, Gauls, take away your weights and scales;"—and, Curtius, (when the priests declared that a frightful chasm, which excited much superstitious apprehension, would never close, till the most

precious thing in Rome was consecrated and devoted,) came to the spot on horseback and in armor, and asking the surrounding multitude, "what they thought was so precious as arms and virtue," spurred his horse, plunged into the gulf, and offered his life a sacrifice for his country;—and, Titus Manlius Torquatus sacrificed all the feelings of a father to his strong sense of public duty, telling his son, who had eminently distinguished his valor, but infringed the orders of the camp, that he had reduced him to the dire necessity of either forgetting the ties of blood, or dissolving forever the bands of military discipline;—and, Decius, who, (after the prophecy of the augurs, that that army should come off victorious, whose general devoted himself for the public,) wrapped his robes round him, threw himself into the thickest of the enemy, and fell covered with wounds;—and, Curius Dentatus, (when the Samnite ambassadors arrived at his habitation loaded with rich presents and vessels of gold, and found him clothed in homely attire, sitting on a wooden bench near his fire, dressing a dinner of roots,) after listening to specious and insinuating proffers with a contemptuous smile, said, "Do you believe that a man who can live as you see me do, will barter for a portion of sordid metal, his honest fame, and the duties which he owes as a citizen and a magistrate to his country;"—and, Regulus, the Roman general, (taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, and sent by them with their ambassadors to Rome to open a negotiation for peace and exchange of prisoners, on condition that he should return to them if the embassy was not successful,) witnessing all the joy which the Roman citizens manifested at his return with an unaltered countenance, refusing the embrace of his wife and children, declaring that he would not enter the city; as he was now but a slave to Carthage come to execute her orders; and being called upon for his opinion respecting the treaty, said, "Rome has never yet concluded a peace of which she has not dictated the conditions, nor must she now; the Roman who throws down his arms, and capitulates for life, has nothing to expect from the commonwealth; as for myself, I am old, confinement has crippled, and misfortune rendered me useless; I am the judge of what belongs to me to do, and I shall infallibly return a prisoner to Carthage;"—and, Rome, after the disastrous battle of Cumæ, expecting every hour the enemy at her gates, returning thanks to Varro, (the only considerable officer that survived this defeat, and was collecting the fragments of his army again to meet the victorious Hannibal,) that he had not despaired of the Republic;—

Rome, selling to her citizens at its full value the ground on which the Carthaginian army was encamped; — Rome, when the enemy was in possession of her richest territory, threatening her gates, transplanting her brave legions to Africa, and assaulting the walls of Carthage; — these are some of the glorious achievements of liberty, which in the language of the poet, “Creates a soul under the ribs of death.”

But after the destruction of Carthage wealth and luxury were introduced; the more wealthy Plebeians joined the Patricians, and they, in conjunction, engrossed all the honors and emoluments of the state. The body of the people were again oppressed, and the tribunes, either overawed or corrupted, did not exert their influence to prevent it. Their power at one period was almost unlimited. They could put a negative on all the decrees of the Senate; they could hinder the collection of tribute, the enlisting of soldiers, and the creation of magistrates. Whoever did not obey their Veto was led to prison, and a day appointed for his trial. They could put off trials, hinder the execution of a sentence, and could even pull victorious generals from their triumphal chariot. Whoever hurt a tribune by word or deed was held accursed, and his goods were confiscated. But after the fall of Carthage, and the introduction of luxury, the people, given up to indolence and public amusements, ceased to respect themselves. They spent their time at shows and entertainments, and became the subservient tools of those who gratified their passions. Public virtue, and private worth were neglected and despised, and liberty degenerated into licentiousness.

At last Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, the grandsons of Scipio Africanus, bravely undertook to assert the liberties of the people, and check the oppression of the nobility. But all their virtuous zeal for public liberty was in vain. They were not seconded by the degenerate people, and fell a sacrifice in their laudable endeavors to assert the rights of the Plebeians. The power of the nobles was increased by this unsuccessful effort, and the people were more oppressed than ever. In the Jugurthine war, the people gained, by the bold eloquence of the tribune Memmius, the ascendancy; but the faithless and ambitious Marius betrayed them; and under Sylla the aristocracy re-established their dominion. After his death, the tribunitial power was for a short period restored; but the people were too much degraded to appreciate the blessing of liberty, and, henceforth, tribunes were employed by the leading men as the tools



of their ambition. The tribunial power expired on the establishment of the Imperial Government.

### SECTION III.

*Ædiles.*—These magistrates, named from *ædes*, a building, had the care of the public edifices, and had causes of secondary importance assigned to their jurisdiction. They were chosen indiscriminately from the Patricians and Plebeians. This order continued to the time of Augustus.

*Quæstors.*—The institution of Quæstors, so called (a *quær-endo*) because they got in the public revenues, seems to have been nearly as ancient as the city itself. The quæstorship was considered the first step of preferment, but it was an office of considerable influence, and was eagerly solicited by all ranks of citizens. Two of these officers resided in the city, and two attended the consuls in their military expeditions. In the year of Rome 498, (when silver was first coined in the Republic,) the number was doubled. At this period all Italy was subdued, and the labors of the office were much increased. They not only received, but also disbursed the public money, which was kept in the temple of Saturn; they had the charge of the military standards, which were generally of silver, sometimes of gold; they entertained foreign ambassadors; and superintended the funerals of those who were buried at the public expense.

There were various other ordinary magistrates; some were appointed to judge slaves, and persons of the lowest rank; to take charge of the mint, to prevent fires, to walk round the watches in the night time, &c.

*Extraordinary Magistrates.*—Of these the most important was the *Dictator*. The first creation of this arbitrary office was about nine years after the expulsion of Tarquin. It originated in the fear of domestic sedition, and a dangerous war from the Latins. As the authority of the consuls was not sufficiently respected on account of the liberty of appeal from them, it was judged proper, in dangerous conjunctures, to create a single magistrate with absolute power, from whom there should be no appeal, and who should not be restrained by the interposition of a colleague. He was not created, as the other magistrates, by the suffrages of the people, but one of the consuls, on some occasions by the authority of the Senate,

on others, by the direction of the people, named as dictator whatever person of consular dignity he thought proper.

The power of the dictator was supreme both in peace and war. He could raise and disband armies, and had power over the lives and fortunes of Roman citizens. When he was created, all the other magistrates, except the tribunes of the commons, abdicated their authority. The power continued only for the space of six months, although the business for which it was created was not finished; and it was never prolonged beyond that time, except in extreme necessity, as in the case of Camillus. Sylla and Cæsar, indeed, usurped the perpetual dictatorship in contempt of the laws of their country, which they professed so much to venerate. (The artful course of these demagogues should be continually held up before the eyes of a free people, as examples of the ambitious and selfish designs of those who stoop to court their favor by flattering their passions and prejudices, and making ultra professions of liberty. These unprincipled organs of sedition despise and secretly laugh at their dupes, and are eagerly waiting for an opportunity to advance themselves at their expense.) The principal check against the dictator's abuse of power was, that he might be called to an account for his conduct, when he resigned his office.

*The Decemvirs.*—C. Terentius Arsa, a tribune of the commons, proposed to the people, that a body of laws should be drawn up, to which all should be obliged to conform. This proposition was violently opposed by the Patricians, in whom the whole judicative power was vested, and to whom the knowledge of the few laws which then existed was confined. At last, however, it was determined by a decree of the Senate, and by the order of the people, that three ambassadors should be sent to Athens to copy the celebrated laws of Solon, and to examine the institutions, customs, and laws of the other States of Greece. Upon their return, ten men, *Decemviri*, were created from among the Patricians, with supreme power, and without the liberty of appeal, to draw up a body of laws; all the other magistrates having first abdicated their office.

The *Decemviri*, at first, behaved with great moderation. They administered justice to the people every tenth day. They proposed ten tables of laws, which were ratified at the *Comitia Centuriata*. As two other tables seemed to be wanting, *Decemviri* were again created for another year to make them. But these new magistrates, acting tyrannically, and wishing to retain their command beyond the legal time, were,

at last, forced to resign; the indignation of the people being now especially excited by the infamous conduct of Appius Claudius towards Virginia, a woman of Plebeian rank, who was slain by her father to prevent her falling into the Decemvir's hands. The Decemviri all perished in prison or in banishment. But the laws of the Twelve Tables continued to be the rule and foundation of public and private right through the Roman world. They were engraved on brass, and fixed up in public; and those, even in the time of Cicero, who applied to the study of jurisprudence, were obliged to commit them to memory.

*Provincial Magistrates.*—After the empire was extended, and various countries reduced to the form of provinces, magistrates were regularly sent from Rome to govern them, according to the law of Sempronius, which was passed 631. By this law, two provinces were consigned to the future consuls before their election. The office could be held only for one year. The prætors cast lots for their provinces. But sometimes these were assigned to both by the Senate or people. A certain number of lieutenants were appropriated to each pro-consul or pro-prætor. In his province, the pro-consul had judicial authority and military command. He administered justice much in the same way as the prætor at Rome, according to the laws which had been prescribed to the province when first subdued, or according to the regulations which had afterwards been made concerning it by the Senate or people at Rome; and sometimes, according to his own edicts. He held assizes or courts of justice in the principal cities. He himself judged in all public and important causes; but matters of less consequence, he referred to his quæstor or lieutenants. The governors were prohibited from using any other language than the Latin, in the functions of their office. Various laws were made to secure the just administration of the provinces, but these were insufficient to check the rapacity of the Roman magistrates; and these conquered states were often grievously oppressed by their exactions.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### PLINY'S ACCOUNT OF HIS VILLA IN TUSCANY.

\* \* \* My villa is so advantageously situated, that it commands a full view of all the country round; yet you go up to it by so insensible a rise, that you find yourself upon an elevation without perceiving your ascent. Behind, but at a great distance, stand the Appenine mountains. In the calmest days we are refreshed by the winds that blow thence, but so spent, as it were, by the long tract of land they travel over, that they are entirely divested of all their strength and violence before they reach us. . The exposition of the principal front of the house is full south, and seems to invite the afternoon sun in summer (but something earlier in winter) into a spacious and well proportioned portico, consisting of several members, particularly a porch built after the manner of the ancients.

In the front of the portico is a sort of terrace, embellished with various figures, and bounded with a box-hedge, whence you descend by an easy slope, adorned with the representation of divers animals in box, answering alternately to each other, into a lawn overspread with the soft, I had almost said the liquid, acanthus: this is surrounded by a walk enclosed with donsile evergreens, shaped into a variety of forms. Beyond it is the gestatio, laid out in the form of a circus, ornamented in the middle with box cut into numberless different figures, together with a plantation of shrubs prevented by the shears from running up too high; the whole is fenced in with wall covered by box, rising by different ranges to the top. On the outside of a wall lies a meadow, that owes as many beauties to nature as all I have been describing within does to art: at the end of which are several other meadows and fields interspersed with thickets.

At the extremity of the portico stands a grand dining-room, which opens upon one end of the terrace; as from the windows there is a very extensive prospect over the meadow, up into the country, whence you also have a view of the terrace, and

such parts of the house which project forward, together with the woods enclosing the adjacent hippodrome. Opposite almost to the centre of the portico stands an apartment something backwards, which encompasses a small area shaded by four plane trees; in the midst of which a fountain rises, whence the water running over the edges of a marble basin, gently refreshes the surrounding plane trees, and the verdure underneath them. This apartment consists of a bed-chamber free from every kind of noise, and which the light itself cannot penetrate; together with a common dining-room, that I use whenever I have none but familiar friends with me. A second portico looks upon this little area, and has the same prospect with the former I just now described. There is besides another, which, being situated close to the nearest plane tree, enjoys a constant shade and verdure: its sides are incrustated half way with carved marble, and thence to the ceiling a foliage is painted with birds intermingled among the branches, which has an effect altogether as agreeable as that of the carving; at the basis of which is placed a little fountain, that, playing through several small pipes into a vase, produces a most pleasing murmur.

From the corner of a portico you enter into a very spacious chamber opposite to the grand dining-room, which, from some of its windows, has a view of the terrace, and from others of the meadow, as those in the front look upon a cascade, which entertains at once both the eye and the ear: for the water falling from a great height, foams round the marble basin which receives it below. This room is extremely warm in winter, being much exposed to the sun, as in a cloudy day the heat of an adjoining stove very well supplies his absence. Hence you pass through a spacious and pleasant undressing-room into the cold-bath room, in which is a large gloomy bath: but if you are disposed to swim more at large, or in warmer water, in the middle of the area is a wide basin for that purpose, and near it a reservoir, whence you may be supplied with cold water, to brace yourself again, if you should perceive you are too much relaxed by the warm. Contiguous to the cold bath is one of a middling degree of heat, which enjoys the kindly warmth of the sun, but not so intensely as that of the hot bath, which projects farther. This last consists of three several divisions, each of different degrees of heat; the two former lie open to the full sun; the latter, though not so much exposed to its heat, receives an equal share of its light. Over the undressing room is built the tennis-court, which, by means of different circles, admits of different kinds of games.

Not far from the baths, is the staircase which leads to the enclosed portico, after having first passed through three apartments: one of these looks upon the little area with the four plane trees round it, the other has a sight of the meadows, and from the third you have a view of several vineyards: so that they have as many different prospects as expositions. At one end of the enclosed portico, and indeed taken off from it, is a chamber that looks upon the hippodrome, the vineyards, and the mountains; adjoining is a room which has a full exposure to the sun, especially in winter: hence runs an apartment that connects the hippodrome with the house: and such is the form and aspect of the front. On the side is a summer-enclosed portico, which stands high, and has not only a prospect of the vineyards, but seems almost to touch them. From the middle of this portico you enter a dining-room, cooled by the wholesome breezes which come from the Appenine valleys: from the windows in the back front, which are extremely large, there is a prospect of the vineyards, as you have also another view of them from the folding doors through the summer portico; along that side of this dining-room, where there are no windows, runs a private staircase for the greater conveniency of serving at entertainments: at the further end is a chamber, whence the eye is entertained with a view of the vineyards, and, what is equally agreeable, of the porticos. Underneath this room is an enclosed portico something resembling a grotto, which enjoying, in the midst of summer heats, its own natural coolness, neither admits nor wants the refreshment of external breezes. After you have passed both these porticos, at the end of the dining room stands a third, which, as the day is more or less advanced, serves either for winter or summer use. It leads to two different apartments, one containing four chambers, the other three, which enjoy by turns both sun and shade.

In the front of these agreeable buildings lies a very spacious hippodrome, entirely open in the middle; by which means the eye, upon your first entrance, takes in its whole extent at one view. It is encompassed on every side with plane trees covered with ivy; so that while their heads flourish with their own green, their bodies enjoy a borrowed verdure, and thus the ivy, twining round the trunk and branches, spreads from tree to tree, and connects them together. Between each plane tree are planted box trees, and behind them, bay trees, which blend their shade with that of the planes. This plantation, forming a straight boundary on both sides of the hippodrome,

bends at the farther end into a semi-circle, which being set round and sheltered with cypress trees, varies the prospect, and casts a deeper and more gloomy shade; while the inward circular walks, for there are several, enjoying an open exposure, are perfumed with roses, and correct, by a very pleasing contrast, the coolness of the shade with the warmth of the sun. Having passed through these several winding alleys, you enter a straight walk, which breaks out into a variety of others, divided off by box hedges. In one place you have a little meadow; in another, the box is cut into a thousand different forms; sometimes into letters, expressing the name of the master, sometimes that of the artificer, whilst here and there little obelisks rise intermixed alternately with fruit trees: when on a sudden, in the midst of this elegant regularity, you are surprised with an imitation of the negligent beauties of rural nature; in the centre of which lies a spot surrounded with a knot of dwarf plane trees.

Beyond there is a walk interspersed with the smooth and twining acanthus, where the trees are also cut into a variety of names and shapes. At the upper end is an alcove of white marble, shaded with vines, supported by four small Carystian pillars. From this bench the water gushing through several little pipes, as if it were pressed out by the weight of the persons who repose themselves upon it, falls into a stone cistern underneath, whence it is received into a fine polished marble basin, so artfully contrived, that it is always full without overflowing. When I sup here, this basin serves for a table, the larger sort of dishes being placed round the margin, while the smaller ones swim about in the form of little vessels, and water-fowl. Corresponding to this, is a fountain which is incessantly emptying and filling; for the water, which it throws up a great height, falling back again into it, is, by means of two openings, returned as fast as it is received. Fronting the alcove, and which reflects as great an ornament on it, as it borrows from it, stands a summer house of exquisite marble, whose doors project and open into a green enclosure; as from its upper and lower windows the eye is presented with a variety of different verdures.

Next to this is a little private closet, which, though it seems distinct, may be laid into the same room, furnished with a couch; and notwithstanding it has windows on every side, yet it enjoys a very agreeable gloominess, by means of a spreading vine, which climbs to the top, and entirely over-shades it. Here you may lie and fancy yourself in a wood,

with this difference only, that you are not exposed to the weather: in this place a fountain also rises, and instantly disappears: in different quarters are disposed several marble seats, which serve, as well as the summer house, as so many reliefs after one is wearied with walking. Near each seat is a little fountain; and throughout the whole hippodrome, several small rills run murmuring along, wheresoever the hand of art thought proper to conduct them, watering here and there different spots of verdure, and in their progress refreshing the whole. \* \* \*



## CHAPTER IX.

### ABSTRACT OF THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF ROME.

Italy was anciently inhabited by various tribes; the north by the Gauls, and the south by different colonies from Greece. The first king of whom we read was Janus. In his time Saturn, having been expelled from Crete by his son Jupiter, after wandering through different countries, came into Italy, where he was hospitably received, and admitted to a share of the kingdom. His just government and wise institutions gave occasion to the fable of the Golden Age, and from him the country was called Saturnia. About sixty years before the Trojan war, Evander brought into Latium a colony of Arcadians. Hercules came into Italy in the time of Evander, after his conquest of Geryon in Spain, and left behind him a number of followers of Trojan and Grecian extraction. After the destruction of Troy, 1183 before Christ, Anténor with a multitude from Paphlagónia, settled at the top of the Hadriatic Gulf. Diomedes, a Grecian hero, settled in Apúlia; and a colony of Lydians in Umbria. But the most celebrated of all these foreigners was Æneas, the son of Anchíses and Venus, who, after the destruction of Troy, celebrated by Homer in his *Iliad*, landed near the mouth of the Tiber. Virgil, in his inimitably beautiful poem, represents Dido, who founded Carthage, contemporary with his hero—an anachronism admitted for the sake of poetical embellishment. Latínus, king of Latium, gave him his daughter Lavinia in marriage. Turnus, the disappointed suitor, waged an unsuccessful war. Ascánius or Iulus, the son of Æneas, succeeded to the throne, and built a new city, called Longa Alba. The Alban kings reigned 400 years.

Romulus and Remus, twin brothers, are said to have been cast into the Tiber in a basket, miraculously preserved, and suckled by a wolf; to have been brought up by a shepherd; to have discovered marks of their noble origin by their dauntless exploits, and to have been recognized by their grandfather,

Numitor, whom his brother Amulius had supplanted. Restored to their rights, they resolved to build a city where they had been brought up; but, a dispute arising respecting the interpretation of the omens, Remus was slain. The common story is, that having in derision leapt over the new walls, his brother struck him to the heart with a dagger, saying, "So perish all that shall dare to insult the walls of Rome." The city was built 753 B. C. The neighboring states refusing an alliance with the Romans, stratagem and violence were used. A festival was proclaimed in honor of Neptune; and while the strangers, who had flocked from the neighboring towns, were intent on the spectacle, the Roman youth, upon a given signal, carried off the young Sabine women. A fierce war ensued. At length the women, reconciled to their condition, rushed out of the city, placed themselves between the two armies, and entreated their fathers not to kill their husbands, and their husbands not to kill their fathers. By their intercession a peace was made, and the Sabines and Romans became one people. Romulus prosecuted with success his military enterprises, and subdued many of the neighboring cities, which formed separate and independent states. Having reigned thirty-seven years, he suddenly disappeared. It was said, that he was taken up to heaven; but the Senate, whom he treated with disrespect, are supposed to have murdered him. He was worshipped as a god, after his death, under the name of Quirinus.

Displeased with the constant state of war in which they had been kept, Numa, a Sabine philosopher, who had been a pupil of Pythagoras, one of the most famous of the Greek philosophers, was elected. During his pacific reign, which lasted forty-three years, the sword was never drawn. He endeavored to soften the ferocity of the Romans by a sense of religion, and by laws. He had some knowledge of astronomy, which he evinced by reforming the calendar, making the year which was only 304 days before, to consist of 355 days.

The people, weary of the inactivity of peace, chose for their third king, Tullius Hostilius, a man of martial spirit. His first war was with the Albans. When the armies of both states were ready to engage, it was agreed, that as they were kindred tribes, a general effusion of blood should be avoided by selecting three champions from each army, to determine the claim of superiority. The Romans chose three brothers of the name of Horatii, and the Albans three of one family, called the Curatii. Two of the Romans fell; the three Albans were wounded. The surviving Roman fled that he

might separate his opponents, and he struck down each singly as he pursued, and then the Albans laid down their arms.

The ferocious character of the times appears in the conduct of the victor. Returning home in triumphal procession, wearing among the spoils a scarf which his sister had worked for her lover, one of the Curatii, he stabbed her to the heart, as she was bitterly lamenting the fate of her betrothed. The Albans endeavored treacherously to recover their independence; but their general was detected, seized, instantly tied to two carriages, and torn in pieces. Alba was destroyed, and the inhabitants brought to Rome.

Ancus Martius, the grandson of Numa, succeeded to the throne, and considerably extended the Roman territory. He reigned twenty-four years.

Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of Rome, obtained the crown by means of his wealth and superior attainments. On the day of election, having induced the sons of Ancus to go forth to hunt wild beasts, he, in a studied speech, set forth his claims to the crown with so much address, that the people unanimously conferred it upon him; and to strengthen his interest, he chose a hundred new Senators. He was the son of a Greek, and brought with him into Rome arts unknown before. He adorned the city with public buildings, and enclosed it with a wall. He was engaged in several successful wars, and reigned thirty-eight years.

Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome, was, like Numa, a legislator, and made many important changes in the constitution. He increased the power of the Senate, and abridged the privileges of the people; but seems, at last, to have fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy of the nobility, whom he offended by distributing among the people the lands taken from the enemy. A conspiracy was formed, at the head of which was Tarquin, his son-in-law, and son or grandson of the late king. He, attended by a guard of armed men, drest in the royal robes, and accompanied by many of the Senators, placed himself on the king's seat. Servius, coming into the Senate-house, and attempting to pull the usurper from his throne, was violently pushed down, and assassinated on his way to his own house. And it is said, that Tullia, his daughter, and wife of Tarquin, drove her carriage over the dead body of her father lying in the street.

Tarquinius Superbus, having obtained the sovereignty by force, feared to call together the constitutional assemblies, and governed by his own authority only. His reign was one

continued scene of cruelty and violence. The people, at length, were roused to vindicate their rights by his brutal conduct to Lucretia ; and under the able and vigorous direction of L. J. Brutus, who, to save his life, had been obliged to counterfeit the character of an idiot, drove the tyrant from the throne, and established a republican form of government. Tarquin reigned twenty-five years. The regal government had existed two hundred and forty-five years.

## CHAPTER X.

### ABSTRACT OF THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

After the expulsion of Tarquin, two supreme magistrates, called Consuls, were elected. A conspiracy was formed by a number of profligate young men for the restoration of the tyrant; and the two sons of Brutus were among the conspirators. They all bound themselves by solemn oaths, with the dreadful ceremony of drinking the blood of a murdered man, and touching his entrails. Their plot was discovered by a slave. The prisoners were brought before the tribunal of justice on which Brutus and his colleague sat. The proof being clear, the prisoners stood silent, and pleaded only by their tears. "Titus and Tiberius," said the unflinching patriot, "what have you to offer in your defence?" They were thrice called upon to plead, but tears were still their only answer. The major part of the Senators were touched with deep compassion, and a low murmur was heard, "Banish them, banish them." All the people stood trembling in expectation of the sentence. Brutus, at length, rose, and with a steady voice said, "Lictors, I deliver them over to you; the rest is your part." At these words the whole assembly shrieked; the consternation was inexpressible; but neither the intercessions of the people, nor the bitter lamentations of the young men, who called upon their father by the most endearing names, could soften the inflexible judge. The lictors seized the criminals, beat them with rods, and then struck off their heads; Brutus all the time gazing on the dreadful spectacle with a steady look and a composed countenance. As soon as the execution was over, he quitted the tribunal, and left his colleague to discharge his duty.

Tarquin induced Porsena, king of Clusium, to march an army to Rome, which would have taken the city, had not Horatius Cocles, animated by that intrepid bravery which only liberty can inspire, supported by two others, defended the narrow entrance of the bridge against the whole of Porsena's

army, till the bridge was broken down. He then leapt into the river, and swam over safe to his admiring friends, amidst the darts of the enemy.

The city being besieged, and reduced to great distress from a scarcity of provisions, C. Mucius resolved to penetrate into the enemy's camp in disguise, and assassinate Porsena. He entered the royal tent, and seeing the king's secretary magnificently dressed, and sitting in the same tribunal with his master, laid him dead at his feet by mistake. Being threatened with torture unless he made a full discovery, he thrust his right hand into a fire which was burning on the altar before him, and let it broil without any apparent emotion; and told the king that three hundred young Romans as resolute as he, had taken a common oath to rid their country of Porsena. This dauntless spirit so much impressed the king, that he dismissed Mucius, and made proposals of peace.

Clælia, one of the hostages on the occasion, having deceived her keepers, swam over the Tiber at the head of her companions, amidst the darts of the enemy, and restored them all safe to their relations. Porsena demanded the restoration of Clælia, but, impressed with admiration of her conduct, not only restored her to her family, but gave her permission to take back with her half the hostages.

B. C. 488. Under the brave conduct of C. Marius, the city of Corioli was taken; and he obtained, in consequence, the name of Coriolanus. His aristocratic principles have already been mentioned in the account of the Tribunes. The people threatened to throw him from the Tarpeian rock for proposing that no corn should be given them unless they abolished the Tribunitial office, and gave up other rights, which they had, with great difficulty, obtained from the Patricians. Not appearing on the day of trial, he was justly sentenced to perpetual banishment. The enemy of the liberties of Rome acted the part of a traitor, joined the Volscians, took a great many towns from the Romans, and threatened Rome with destruction. Haughtily refusing to listen to a solemn embassy from his country, his wife and mother accompanied a second deputation, and presenting to him his infant child, whom by his conduct he was devoting to ruin, his parent entreated him, "not to force her to curse the hour in which she had given him birth." Coriolanus was melted, and rushing up to her, exclaimed, "Oh, mother, thou hast saved Rome, but thou hast destroyed thy son." By virtue of his authority as general, he

drew off the army, and returned to Antium, where he was murdered by the Volscians.

The history of Rome during this period furnishes few incidents that merit our attention. The mind can derive neither improvement nor satisfaction from a recital of murderous and aggressive wars. The struggles of the people at this time to maintain their rights, cannot, however, be passed over without notice. The Patricians were incessantly active in their endeavors to reduce the people to a state of subjection to their insolent authority, and not unfrequently, by flattery and bribery, they seduced the tribunes to betray their sacred trust. Various commotions were excited by renewed propositions for Agrarian Laws, or laws relating to the division and distribution of lands. That called the Agrarian Law, by way of eminence, was published by Spurius Cassius, in the year of Rome 268, for dividing the conquered lands equally among all the citizens, and limiting the number of acres which each citizen might enjoy. Spurius Cassius, a distinguished patriot of high rank, a man entitled to no common meed of praise, and whose character all the friends of liberty will ever venerate, represented to the people, "that they had gained but half the advantage to which they were entitled, if in addition to the abolition of debts, they did not resume for their own benefit the lands which had *fraudulently* come into the possession of the great. Rome, at the beginning, had been peopled by citizens, who had none of them any advantage of wealth one over another; he did not insist upon restoring them to their original state of equality; he would allow to industry the superiority which it naturally acquires over indolence and prodigality; but it was only just, that property acquired by notorious fraud and deception, should be refunded."

The lands taken from their enemies were by law appointed to be disposed of for the benefit of the Republic; and it was the custom to sell a part to defray the expense of the war, to distribute a part gratis amongst the poorest citizens, and to let a part of it at low rent to citizens, who were not altogether destitute, but whose means were not sufficient for the rearing of their families.

Nothing could appear more just than this; but it proved otherwise on the experiment. The lands which were sold, the rich contrived should be sold to them at an under price; the lands which were let, *they hired under feigned names*; and the lands given to the poorer citizens, they for the most part got into their possession by loans and usury; so that the

territories added to the Roman state, seemed only to increase the wealth of the rich, without relieving the destitute. The nobility, on this important occasion, combined in zealous hostility to the proposition of Cassius, and, at length by every means which power and wealth afforded, they prevailed on the deluded people, by basely impugning the motives of the patriot, to veto this law, and actually persuaded them, that he wished to destroy the liberties of his country, and become king of Rome. Abhorring the idea of changing their republican form of government, they indignantly cast their best friend from the Tarpeian rock. How many examples does not history afford of the mad delusion of the people, in murdering or banishing the ardent and disinterested advocates of popular rights! Hurred on by the impetuosity of passion and prejudice, artfully excited by hireling writers or declaimers, they ignorantly sacrifice on the altar of liberty men whose effigies deserve a choice place in her temple.

In the year of the city 296, Cincinnatus, who had reduced himself to poverty by paying the sureties for his son, was made Dictator—the Roman army being blocked up in a defile by the Æqui. By his energy and ability the Consul was soon relieved: he returned to Rome in triumph, and resigned his high office on the sixteenth day after his appointment. About twenty years afterwards, he was again appointed Dictator to quell the seditious movement of Mælius, who seems to have taken measures to subvert the government. On this occasion, the multitude warmly espoused the cause of their pretended friend, but real enemy, and rescued him out of the lictor's hands. He was pursued, overtaken, and put to death; and his house was levelled to the ground.

In the year of Rome 350, the Romans laid siege to Veii, one of the free cities of Etruria—a country celebrated for its learning and refinement. It contained twelve cities, each governing itself, but all bound together by ties of affinity and alliance. It was taken after a ten years' siege, under the dictatorship of Camillus, a man of great merit, who was five times appointed Dictator. He extended a mine into the midst of the city. It is said, that the principal persons of the city were engaged at the altar, when, the soothsayers having examined the dying victim, and pronounced, "he that finishes this sacrifice, shall be the conqueror," the Roman miners forced up part of the pavement of the temple, and fulfilled the prediction. Camillus, two years afterwards, as one of the military tribunes, marched against the Falisci, who surrendered



their town on a very memorable occasion. A schoolmaster of great repute, who had the charge of the children of the most eminent citizens, led his pupils one day to the first sentinels of the Roman camp, and had an interview with the general. He told Camillus, "that he had now the good fortune to offer a signal service to the Roman state, by placing in his hands the most distinguished youth of the Falisci, an advantage which, if he thought proper to improve, would instantly place the town at his mercy." Camillus regarded the wretch with indignation; and said, "Villain that thou art, know that thou dost not present thyself before a general or a nation framed in the same mould that thou art: there are laws of war, as well as laws of peace; and those laws forbid me to molest or detain these unarmed youth; they were trusted to thy honor; thou hast sought to make them victims of thy treachery." By order of the Roman general, the traitor was stripped, his hands were bound behind him, and the youths with rods beat him back into the town. The Falisci beheld the procession with astonishment, and sent an embassy to Camillus to surrender the town; saying, "they could have held out against his prowess and his generalship, but they were incapable of fighting against so much magnanimity and virtue."

This great man's prejudices in favor of his own order, seem to have imparted somewhat of the haughty spirit of Coriolanus towards the Plebeians; and they, keenly resenting the indignity of his carriage, too easily listened to a base accusation of an illegal impropriation of the plunder of Veii. Convinced that he should be condemned, he went into voluntary exile, but not like Coriolanus to his enemies. He could not, however, refrain from a prayer, "that his countrymen might speedily repent of their wrong, and have occasion to call for his assistance." His prayer was soon fulfilled. The Gauls (one of the bravest nations in the world, of whom it was said at Rome, "with other nations we struggle for victory; with the Gauls for existence") under Brennus, being requested by the Romans to desist from making war on the allies of the Roman people, replied fiercely, "that they carried their right in their arms;" and resenting the hostile interference of the Roman deputation, sent messengers to Rome to demand that the Fabii, the ambassadors, should be delivered up to them. Receiving a refusal, Brennus immediately marched towards Rome, gained a complete victory, and entered the city without any farther opposition. He found the streets empty. The

multitude of citizens had fled ; those most capable of making an obstinate resistance had taken possession of the Capitol, but many of the old Senators, attired in their robes of ceremony, seated themselves in the vestibules of their houses in their curule chairs, which were ornamented with ivory. The Gauls were struck with awe at their majestic appearance, and gazed at them, as if they had been images. At length a soldier lifted up his hand, and ventured to stroke the silver beard of a Senator. Indignant at this conduct, he struck the barbarian on the head with his ivory staff of office. This rash act led to a general massacre ; the city was set on fire, and the walls of Rome laid level with the earth. B. C. 388.

The Capitol was now besieged, and would have been taken by a select party, ordered to scale the walls at midnight, had not some geese, consecrated to Juno, awoken the garrison by their incessant cackling. Marcus Manlius cast down the Gaul, who had already ascended the fortress, and thus the garrison was preserved to be delivered by the brave Camillus, who, having collected forty thousand soldiers, totally defeated the barbarians. Camillus died full of years and glory ; but Manlius, intoxicated with the honors he received, courted popularity, aimed at sovereign power, and ignominiously expired at the base of the Tarpeian rock.

## CHAPTER XI:

### PYRRHUS AND FABRICIUS.

Passing over more than a hundred years, during which the Romans had subdued the greatest part of Italy, we come to their first war with a foreign enemy, B. C. 279. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, was invited by the Tarentines to assist them in their unequal contest with the Romans. Rome had now become an object of attention and importance to Greece; but, before this time, the splendid period of Greece had passed away; her poets and historians, her painters and sculptors, that surpassed all other ages and countries, were no more. Alexander the Great, (far more great than good,) king of Macedon, had extinguished the last remains of her liberty, and sacrificed to his ambition the independence of those little states, which made her the wonder of the world. Greece was in her old age after the death of Alexander, (that capricious tyrant who murdered his best friends,) but still it was a venerable old age, in which might be seen the traces of her former majesty. Pyrrhus was the most accomplished and magnanimous of the princes who, upon the demise of Alexander, divided his extensive conquests amongst them. His possessions were small, though his ambition was unbounded: and he willingly accepted the invitation of the Grecian states of Italy, to come and lend them his aid, to resist the formidable hostility of the Romans.

On the banks of the Liris, Pyrrhus first came in sight of the Roman army, and exclaimed, on observing the order of the troops, the appointment of the watches, and the whole method of their encampment, "Among these barbarians, (for such the Greeks styled every nation but their own,) I discern nothing barbarous in their discipline." The Grecian phalanx encountered the Roman legion. Seven times the Romans were repulsed, and seven times they returned to the attack. At length, the sight of the elephants, animals which the Romans had never seen before, driven into their ranks, terrified

the men, no less than the horses, and threw the army into confusion. Fifteen thousand Romans were left on the field of battle, and thirteen thousand Greeks were slain. Pyrrhus, on being congratulated by his courtiers, replied coldly, "Another such victory, and I shall be ruined." The Romans defeated, not subdued, rejected every proposal of peace on any other condition than that of withdrawing every foreign soldier from Italy. Cineas, his ambassador, unsuccessful in all his attempts to bribe the Senators and their wives, returned to his master, and said, "that the Senate appeared to him an assembly of demi-gods, the meanest of whom was worthy to be a king."

The character of Fabricius shone forth with pre-eminent lustre during this war. His magnanimity excited the admiration and astonishment of the Grecian king, who used every means in his power to corrupt his fidelity. All his splendid offers were refused with contempt. The king having urged that his poverty was unsuitable to his distinguished merit, Fabricius replied, "You have indeed been rightly informed of my poverty. My whole estate consists in a house but of mean appearance, and a little spot of ground, from which by my own labor, I derive my support. But if, by any means, you have been persuaded to think, that this poverty makes me less considered in my country, or, in any degree unhappy, you are extremely deceived. I have no reason to complain of fortune. She supplies me with all that nature requires, and if I am without superfluities, I am also free from the desire of them. With these, I confess, I should be able to succor the necessitous, the only advantage for which the wealthy are to be envied; but as small as my possessions are, *I can still contribute something to the support of the State*, and the assistance of my friends. With regard to honor, my country places me, poor as I am, upon a level with the richest; for Rome knows no qualifications for great employments, but virtue and ability. She appoints me to officiate in the most august ceremonies of religion; she entrusts me with the command of her armies: she confides to my care the most important negotiations; my poverty does not lessen the weight and influence of my counsels in the Senate; the Roman people honor me for that very poverty which you consider as a disgrace; they know the many opportunities I have had in war, to enrich myself without incurring censure; they are convinced of my disinterested zeal for their prosperity; and if I have any thing to complain of in the return they make me, it is only

the excess of their applause. What value, then, can I set on your gold and silver? What king can add any thing to my fortune? Always attentive to discharge the duties incumbent on me, *I have a mind free from self reproach, and I have an honest fame.*"

In the following year, Fabricius was chosen one of the consuls, and soon, another occasion was presented to illustrate the nobleness of his spirit. While the two armies were watching each other, Fabricius received a letter from Nicias, the king's principal physician, offering for a certain reward to take off his master by poison, and thus end the war. The temptation was great, as the lives of many valuable citizens would be saved, and Rome, at once, delivered from her most formidable enemies. But Fabricius, though he loved Rome much, loved virtue more, instantly, acting from a high sense of moral principle, which will never entertain the sentiment, that a great apparent good may justify sinful means of accomplishing it, sent the letter to the king, stating, "You will find by this letter which was sent to us, that you are at war with men of virtue and honor, and trust knaves and villains." Pyrrhus, after he had read the letter, expressed in the strongest terms his admiration of this generous conduct and said, "It is easier to divert the sun from his course, than to turn Fabricius from the path of justice." Pyrrhus to express his gratitude, immediately set all the Roman prisoners free, without ransom; and Rome, too generous to accept a reward for not consenting to an execrable deed, in return, released an equal number of Samnite and Tarentine prisoners.

After the departure of Pyrrhus, who had been two years and four months in Italy, Fabricius gained a victory over the combined forces of the Samnites, Lucani and Bruttii, for which he was honored with a triumph. But the unanimous acknowledgement of his countrymen, that he had vanquished Pyrrhus more by his integrity than by his valor, was more glorious than any triumph.

Wishing to inspire among the people a contempt of luxury and useless ornaments, so inconsistent with republican simplicity and equality, he banished, during his censorship, from the Senate Cornelius Rufinus, who had been twice consul and dictator, because he kept in his house more than ten pounds' weight of silver plate. Fabricius lived and died in the greatest poverty. His body was buried at the public charge.

"Great in his triumph, in retirement great."

## CHAPTER XII.

### FIRST PUNIC WAR.

The Romans having subdued Italy, engaged in war with the Carthaginians. B. C. 263. This first war lasted twenty-four years. Carthage was a populous and flourishing city of the northern coast of Africa, that was indebted to navigation and commerce for its prosperity. Imitating the example of its parent state, it rose to eminence and power by means similar to those of the Tyrians, a people highly celebrated in the time of Solomon. The Republic of Carthage flourished 737 years; the time of its great glory was under Amilcar and Hannibal. During the first Punic war, the city contained no less than 700,000 inhabitants. The government of Carthage was composed of three different authorities; the authority of the two supreme magistrates called Suffètes, judges, that of the Senate, and that of the Assembly of the people. To these were afterwards added the council of the hundred. The Suffètes were annual magistrates, and their authority resembled that of the Roman consuls. By ancient writers, they are frequently styled kings, dictators, consuls. We are not informed of the manner of their election. Their office was to convene the Senate, to preside in this assembly, propose matters for debate, and collect the voices. They also sat as chief justices in private causes of importance. Nor was their authority confined to civil affairs, for they sometimes commanded the armies. The number of which the Senate consisted is not known; it must have been considerable, since a hundred persons were selected from it to form a council. In the Senate all public affairs were debated, the letters from the generals read, the complaints from the provinces heard, ambassadors admitted to audience, and peace and war determined. When the Senators were unanimous, there lay no appeal from their decision; but whenever they were divided in opinion, the affair devolved to the people, the extent of whose authority is not known. In the early part of the Republic the chief administration of public

affairs was left to the Senate; but at a later period, the people seem to have obtained almost the whole power of the State.

The religion of the Carthaginians was derived from the Phœnicians. Their principal deity was Saturn, and to him human sacrifices were offered. Diodorus Siculus says, that, "Being grievously afflicted in consequence of a remarkable defeat by the Sicilians under Agathocles, '(about 280 years before Christ,) they were humbled with a penitential conviction of their neglect of some of the gods, who had, they imagined, brought upon them this miserable misfortune. They thought that Hercules, the tutelar god of their country, was angry with them, and they sent an immense sum of money, and many other rich gifts to Tyre. They used in former ages to send a tenth part of all their revenues to this god. But afterwards, when they were grown wealthy, they contributed a much smaller proportion to their deity. They sent likewise, out of their temples to the images, golden shrines. They gave just cause, also, to their god Saturn, to be their enemy; for, in the early period of their republic, they used to sacrifice to this god the sons of the most eminent persons; in latter times they secretly bought and reared children for this purpose: and upon strict search being made, there were found amongst them that were to be sacrificed, some children that had been changed, and put in the place of others. Seriously considering these things, whilst the enemy was before their walls, they were seized with such a pang of superstition, as if they had utterly forsaken the religion of their fathers. That they might, therefore, without delay reform what was amiss, they offered as a public sacrifice two hundred of the sons of the nobility; and, no fewer than three hundred more, who were liable to censure, voluntarily expiated their impiety by yielding themselves up victims on the public altar." There was a brazen statue of Saturn, represented putting forth the palms of his hands, and bending in such a manner towards the earth, as that the boy who was laid upon them, in order to be sacrificed, should slip off, and fall down headlong into a deep fiery furnace.

"First Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood  
Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears,  
Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud  
Their children's cries unheard, that pass'd through fire  
To his grim idol.

And Astoreth, whom the Phœnicians called  
Astarte, queen of Heaven, with crescent horns;  
To whose bright image nightly by the moon  
Sardinian virgins paid their vows and songs."

The Carthaginian superstition was not confined to these deities; but they adopted those of other nations, as Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c.; and worshipped the fire, and the air, and had gods of the rivers and mountains. In the middle of the city stood the citadel of Brysa, having on the top of it a splendid temple consecrated to Esculapius.

The character of the Carthaginians, if we credit their jealous and implacable enemies the Romans, was notoriously faithless; but, when we consider the disingenuous and vindictive terms by which even Christian writers characterize the people with whom they are at war, we shall not form our opinion of a whole nation from the ironical use of the common phrase, "Punic faith."

The contest between Carthage and Rome was apparently very unequal. Carthage at this time was devoted to luxury and commerce; Rome to war, frugality, and self-denial. The Romans fought their own battles; the Carthaginians hired mercenaries to fight for them. But Carthage, in extent of empire and revenues, was much superior to Rome. She had immense fleets and the sovereignty of the sea, when Rome could not boast of a single ship. The struggle lasted sixty-three years, from the commencement of the first Carthaginian war to the battle of Zama. The Romans made sensible of the necessity of contending with their enemies on their favorite element, used a Carthaginian vessel, which was wrecked on the coast of Italy, as a model, and, in a very short time, this ingenious and indefatigable people built a hundred and twenty boats, for such they may be called, when compared with the floating castles of modern times. They invented the grappling iron, which enabled the crews to fight nearly in the same manner as on land. Thus equipped, the consul Duillius sailed in search of the Carthaginians, and in the first naval battle ever fought between these rival nations, the Africans were defeated, with the loss of fifty of their ships.

After repeated successes on the part of Rome, the Republic at length formed the determination of invading Africa, and carrying the war to the gates of Carthage. Regulus, one of the consuls, was appointed general of this ill-fated expedition. His consulship expired soon after he had landed, but the Senate sent him a commission to continue at the head of his army, with the title of pro-consul. Regulus, who was a genuine Roman, bred in the school of poverty, and who esteemed this poverty



his honor, remonstrated against the appointment; and represented by letters to the Senate, "that the hireling who had been employed to cultivate his little estate of seven acres, had taken advantage of his absence to run away, and had purloined at the same time his instruments of tillage; so that his presence at home was absolutely necessary, to provide the means of subsistence for his family." The Senate assured him, that his farm should be attended to, and his family supported at the public charge; and commanded him to remain at the head of the expedition.

Ancient history contains many marvellous stories of prodigious animals and astonishing occurrences, which were eagerly received by the superstitious credulity of the untravelled Greek or Roman. If we credit writers of no small repute,

"Nature then perverse  
Brought forth all monstrous, all prodigious things,  
Hydras, and gorgons, and chimeras dire."

And in the words of Othello,

"Men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders."

We are informed, that, "on the banks of the river Bagra, Regulus encountered an enemy of a very extraordinary sort. This was a serpent of prodigious size, which seemed to guard the river, and attacked the Roman soldiers as they came for water. The whole army was prevented by this monster from advancing, for more than a month. Several of the legionaries were entombed in its capacious body, and many were pressed to death with the folds of its tail. Its scales were so hard, that the darts thrown against them made no impression; and its nature was so venomous, that every one was poisoned who came within the reach of its breath. It was only after repeated endeavors, that stones slung from military engines, at last, killed it. The river was dyed with its blood; and the effluvia from its carcase was so fatal, that the Romans were obliged abruptly to decamp. Its skin was found to be an hundred and twenty feet in length." Many other extraordinary things are related by historians of this serpent, which, as Hooke remarks, was probably nothing more than a crocodile, a creature common in Africa, but to which the Romans were at this time strangers.

Regulus, in a pitched battle, defeated the Carthaginians; and

more than two hundred towns opened their gates to the conqueror. During the negotiation for peace, which Regulus consented to grant only on condition that the enemy should withdraw their troops from Sicily and Sardinia, Xantippus, a Lacedemonian general with some Grecian recruits arrived, and the conference was broken off. The Romans, after an obstinate conflict, were defeated, and Regulus and his army taken prisoners. After an imprisonment of six years, he was sent to Rome to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, and make an honorable peace; an oath having been first obtained from him, that he would return if the Romans did not agree to the terms. The self-sacrificing conduct of this relentless patriot is a subject celebrated by poets, orators, and artists, and is perhaps the most remarkable instance of heroic virtue in the annals of Rome. When called upon by the Senate to give his opinion of the conditions, he said, "Rome has never yet concluded a peace of which she has not dictated the conditions, nor must she now. I will return to Carthage." He indignantly rejected as base, and unworthy of the Roman character, the subterfuge suggested to him, by which he might be released from his oath.

"Hoc caverat mens provida Reguli  
 Dissentientis conditionibus  
 Fœdis, et exemplo trahenti  
 Perniciem veniens in ævum;  
 Si non periret immiserabilis  
 Captiva pubes. Signa ego Punicis  
 Affixa delubris, et arma  
 Militibus sine cæde, dixit,  
 Direpta vidi: vidi ego civium  
 Retorta tergo brachia libero,  
 Portasque non clausas, et arva  
 Marte coli populata nostro.  
 Auro repensus scilicet acrior  
 Miles redibit! Flagitio additis  
 Damnum. Neque amissos colores  
 Lana refert medicata fuco;  
 Nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,  
 Curat reponi deterioribus.  
 Si pugnat extricata densis  
 Cerva plagis, erit ille fortis,  
 Qui perfidis se credidit hostibus:  
 Et Marte Pænos proteret altero,  
 Qui lora restrictis lacertis

Sensit iners timuitque mortem.  
 Hic unde vitam sumeret inscius,  
 Pacem duello miscuit. O pudor!  
 O magna Carthago probrosis  
 Altior Italiæ ruinis!  
 Fertur pudicæ conjugis osculum,  
 Parvosque natos, ut capitis minor,  
 Ab se removisse, et virilem  
 Torvus humi posuisse vultum;  
 Donec labantes consilio patres  
 Firmaret auctor nunquam alias dato,  
 Interque mœrentes amicos  
 Egregius properaret exul.  
 Atqui sciebat quæ sibi barbarus  
 Tortor pararet: non aliter tamen  
 Dimovit obstantes propinquos  
 Et populum redivit morantem,  
 Quam si clientum longa negotia  
 Dijudicata lite relinqueret,  
 Tendens Venafranum in agros,  
 Aut Lacedæmonium Tarentum."

The war was, at last, terminated by a complete victory at sea, gained over the Carthaginians under Hanno, near the Ægades; and another over Amilcar by land, at the foot of Mount Eryx. 240 B. C. The conditions of the peace were extremely mortifying to Carthage. She was obliged to pay an enormous sum of money, and, what was still more aggravating, to relinquish all pretensions to Sicily, one of her most valuable possessions.

The space of twenty-four years, which elapsed between the first Punic war and the second, was rather an armistice than a state of peace. The Roman arms were employed part of the time against the Gauls; and the Carthaginians spent the interval in recruiting their strength, in extending their dominion in Spain, and preparing for a struggle, in which military talents were exhibited in the most splendid colors. The spirit of indignation with which Amilcar withdrew from Sicily, and which he communicated to his son Hannibal, the unjust seizure of Sardinia by the Romans, and the successive victories of Amilcar, Asdrubal, and Hannibal in Spain, were causes more than sufficient to lead these rival nations to another declaration of hostilities.

Hannibal was nine years of age when his father sailed with

a numerous army to Spain. He entreated with great earnestness to be permitted to accompany him. Amilcar consented to the request on condition that he should swear eternal enmity to Rome. The patriotic youth was led in much solemnity to the altars of his country, and fervently pledged his vow. Amilcar commanded eight years in Spain with success, and a relation of Hannibal eight years more. Under them the young Carthaginian studied the art of war, and was, after much discussion in the Senate, appointed to the command. From this moment all his thoughts were animated with a burning desire to retrieve the glory of his country. Livy, by no means an impartial judge, thus depicts his character: "Hannibal, on his arrival in Spain, attracted the eyes of the whole army. The veterans believed that Amilcar was revived and restored to them; they saw the same vigorous countenance, the same piercing eye, the same complexion and features. But in a short time, his behavior occasioned this resemblance to his father to contribute the least towards his gaining their favor. And, in truth, never was there a genius more happily formed for two things, most manifestly contrary to each other—to obey and to command. This made it difficult to determine, whether the general or soldiers loved him most. Where any enterprise required vigor, and valor in the performance, Asdrubal always chose him to command the expedition; nor, were the troops ever more confident of success, or more intrepid, than when he was at their head. None ever showed greater bravery in undertaking hazardous attempts, or more presence of mind or conduct in the execution of them. No hardship could fatigue his body, or daunt his courage: he could equally bear cold and heat. The necessary refectation of nature, not the pleasure of his palate, he solely regarded in his meals. He made no distinction of day and night in his watching, or taking rest; and appropriated no time to sleep, but what remained after he had completed his duty: he never sought for a quiet or retired place; but was often seen lying on the bare ground, wrapt in a soldier's cloak, among the sentinels and guards. He did not distinguish himself from his companions by the magnificence of his dress, but by the quality of his horse and arms. At the same time, he was by far the best foot and horse soldier in the army; ever the foremost in a charge, and the last who left the field after the battle was begun. These shining qualities were however balanced by great vices; inhuman cruelty; more than Carthaginian treachery; no respect for truth or honor, no fear of the gods, no regard for the

sanctity of oaths, no sense of religion. With a disposition thus chequered with virtues and vices, he served three years under Asdrubal, without neglecting to pry into, or perform any thing, that could contribute hereafter to make him a complete general."

The siege of Saguntum, a city of Spain, was the immediate cause of this second war. The Romans sent to order Hannibal to desist, for the Saguntines were the allies of Rome. The Carthaginian general answered, that he was too busy in military affairs, to have leisure at present to attend to what they had to allege, and, pushing on the siege, he compelled the city to surrender. The Romans immediately declared war against Carthage; and Hannibal crossed the Ibérus and pushed on for Italy. The whole country between the Pyrenees and the northern ridge of the Appenines, was at that time occupied by different tribes of Gauls, a people who were eager to sustain their independence in all its untutored wildness. By his persuasive arts, Hannibal induced many of these tribes to allow him a free passage. They were the enemies of Rome, but looked with jealousy on any great military force. It was not without difficulty that Hannibal made his way from the Pyrenees to the Alps; but these latter mountains were the most frightful obstacle he had to encounter. He had no sooner begun to ascend them, than their rugged inhabitants, from the cliffs that overhung the path, rolled down huge stones, over-setting the elephants and beasts of burden, and precipitating animals and men together into the abyss below. Livy states, that the elephants were, in some instances, driven first through the narrow ways, and wherever they went, they made the army secure from the enemy, who, unaccustomed to these animals, were naturally afraid of approaching the soldiers. Having, with great difficulty and considerable loss, passed through the defiles in which they were assailed by men rising up from their ambush, and rolling down great stones from the rocks, on the ninth day the Carthaginians reached the ridge of the Alps. But the descent was more difficult and dangerous. The hardships were greater than those which they had experienced in clambering up the declivities. They arrived at a narrow cliff with crags so perpendicular, that it appeared impossible for them to proceed. The ground, covered with snow and ice, would not admit a firm footing; and the elephants stuck in the snow, and appeared as if they were caught in a gin. At length, the beasts and men being wearied to no purpose, a camp was pitched on the ridge; a place for this

purpose having been cleared with very great difficulty, so much being to be dug and thrown out. After this, soldiers, being led out to form a way through the rock, by which alone there could be a road, as the stone must be cut, enormous trees around being thrown down and lopped, make a great pile of logs; and, when a strong wind fit for making a conflagration had arisen, they set on fire the heap, and make brittle the glowing rocks by moistening them with vinegar. Thus they lay open with instruments of iron the cliff, heated by the fire, and soften the declivities by moderate windings, so that not only the beasts of burden, but also the elephants, might be led down. (Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti, quum cædendum esset saxum, arboribus circa immanibus dejectis detruncatisque, struem ingentem lignorum faciunt: eamque (quum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset) succendunt, ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt, molliuntque amfractibus modicis clivos, ut non jumenta solum, sed elephanti etiam, deduci possent.) About the space of four days was spent at the cliff; the beasts of burden were almost destroyed by hunger. The lower grounds have valleys, and some sunny hills, and rivulets near the woods. There the beasts were sent to pasture, and repose was given to the men weary with road-making.

The army reached Italy after nearly five months' incessant exertion and skirmishing, by which several thousand men were destroyed. Hannibal had now only 12,000 Africans, 8,000 Spaniards, and 6,000 cavalry. Scipio, the Roman consul, being disappointed of meeting the enemy in Spain and Gaul, landed in the Gulf of Genoa, and encountered Hannibal on the banks of the Ticinus. Scipio, to encourage his men, is said to have addressed his soldiers in words to this effect:

\* \* "The enemy you are going to encounter are the same, whom in a former war you vanquished both by land and sea; the same from whom you took Sicily and Sardinia; and who have been these twenty years your tributaries. You cannot march against them with the ordinary courage with which you face your other enemies, but with the anger and indignation you would feel, if you saw your slaves, on a sudden rise up in arms against you. Conquered and enslaved, it is not boldness, but necessity, that urges them to battle. But you have heard, perhaps, that although they are few in number, they are men vigorous in their minds and bodies, heroes whose strength and energy nothing can resist.

Scarecrows! mere shadows of men! famished, benumbed with cold! bruised and battered to pieces among the rocks and craggy cliffs! their weapons broken, and their horses weak and foundered! Such are the cavalry and such the infantry, with which you are going to contend—not enemies, but fragments of enemies. \* \* Under the conduct of a frantic youth, they come hither to overturn our state and lay waste our country. I wish this contest was for honor only, and not for our preservation; but it is not for the possession of Sicily or Sardinia, but for Italy itself you must fight. Nor is there any other army in the rear, which, if we do not conquer, may oppose the enemy. Nor are there other Alps, which might give us leisure to raise new forces. No, soldiers, here you must make your stand, as if you were fighting before the walls of Rome. Let each individual reflect, that he is now to defend not only his own person, but also his wife, his children, his helpless infants. Nor let him only revolve thoughts of his own home; but remember that the eyes of the Senate and people of Rome are upon us; and that as our vigor and valor shall be, such will be the fortune of that city and of the Roman empire.”

Hannibal, thinking it desirable to fortify the minds of his soldiers with examples of desperate courage before he addressed them, placed some captive mountaineers before the army, and Gallic arms being cast at their feet, ordered the interpreter to ask them, “if any, if he were released from his chains, and with the promise of liberty, of arms, and a horse if victorious, would engage in single combat with a fellow prisoner.” The offer was eagerly accepted, and lots were cast for entering the lists. Unbounded joy was manifested by all those who were appointed. “And when they were contending,” says Livy, “such was the frame of mind not only among the men of the same condition, but also among the spectators generally, that the lot of the conquerors was not more praised than that of those who died well. After several pairs had contended, Hannibal thus addressed his soldiers:

“I know not, soldiers, whether you or your prisoners be encompassed by fortune with the stricter bonds and necessities. Two seas enclose you on the right and left;—not a ship to flee to for escaping. Before you is the Po, a river broader and more rapid than the Rhone; behind you are the Alps, over which, when your numbers were undiminished, you were hardly ably to force a passage. Here, then, soldiers, you must either conquer or die, the very first hour you meet

the enemy. But the same fortune, which has thus laid you under the necessity of fighting, has set before your eyes those rewards of victory, than which no man was ever wont to wish for greater from the immortal gods. Should we by our valor recover only Sicily and Sardinia, which were ravished from our fathers, these would be no inconsiderable prizes. Yet what are these? The wealth of Rome, whatever riches she has heaped together in the spoils of nations, all these, with the masters of them, will be yours. You have been long enough employed in driving the cattle upon the vast mountains of Lusitania and Celtiberia; you have hitherto met with no reward worthy of the labors and dangers you have undergone. The time is now come, to reap the full recompense of your toilsome marches over so many mountains and rivers; and through so many nations, all of them in arms. This is the place which fortune has appointed to be the limits of your labors: it is here that you will finish your glorious warfare, and receive an ample recompense of your completed service. For I would not have you imagine, that victory will be as difficult, as the name of a Roman is great and sounding. It has often happened, that a despised enemy has given a bloody battle, and the most renowned kings and nations have by a small force been overthrown. And if you but take away the glitter of the Roman name, what is there wherein they may stand in competition with you? For (to say nothing of your services in war for twenty years together with so much valor and success) from the very pillars of Hercules, from the ocean, from the utmost bounds of the earth, through so many warlike nations of Spain and Gaul, are you not come hither victorious? And with whom are you now to fight? With raw soldiers, an undisciplined army, beaten, vanquished, besieged by the Gauls the very last summer, an army unknown to their leader, and unacquainted with him.

“Or, shall I, who was born I might almost say, but certainly brought up, in the tent of my father, that most excellent general; shall I, the conqueror of Spain and Gaul, and not only of the Alpine nations, but, which is greater yet, of the Alps themselves; shall I compare myself with this half year captain? A captain before whom, should one place the two armies without their ensigns, I am persuaded he would not know to which of them he is consul? I esteem it no small advantage, soldiers, that there is not one among you, who has not often been an eye witness of my exploits in war; not one, of whose valor I myself have not been a spectator, so as to be able to



name the times and places of his noble achievements ; that with soldiers, whom I have a thousand times praised and rewarded, and whose pupil I was before I became their general, I shall march against an army of men, strangers to one another.

“On what side soever I turn my eyes, I behold all full of courage and strength ; a veteran infantry : a most gallant cavalry : you, my allies, most faithful and valiant ; you, Carthaginians, whom not only your country’s cause, but the justest anger impels to battle. The hope, the courage, of assailants, is always greater than of those who act upon the defensive. With hostile banners displayed, you come down upon Italy ; you bring the war. Grief, injuries, indignities, fire your minds, and spur you forward to revenge ! First, they demanded me ; that I, your general, should be delivered up to them ; next, all of you, who had fought at the siege of Saguntum ; and we were to be put to death by the most extreme tortures. Proud and cruel nation ! Every thing must be yours, and at your disposal ! You are to prescribe to us with whom we shall make war, with whom we shall make peace ! You are to set us bounds ; to shut us up between hills and rivers ; but you — you are not to observe the limits which yourselves have fixed. Pass not the Ibérus ! What next ! Touch not the Saguntines ! Saguntum is upon the Iberus ; move not a step toward that city ! Is it a small matter, then, that you have deprived us of our ancient possessions, Sicily and Sardinia ? You would have Spain too ! Well, we shall yield Spain, and then — you will pass into Africa ! Will pass, did I say ? This very year, they ordered one of their consuls into Africa, the other into Spain ! No, soldiers, there is nothing left for us, but what we can vindicate with our swords. Come on, then. Be men. The Romans may with more safety be cowards ; they have their own country behind them, have places of refuge to flee to, and are secure from danger in the roads thither ; but for you there is no middle fortune between death and victory. Let this be but well fixed in your minds, and once again I say, you are conquerors.”

Hannibal still farther, to animate his men, made a liberal promise of lands or money, and to ratify the assurance, took a flint in one hand, and holding a lamb in the other, said, “Great Jupiter, and all ye gods, if I do not perform my promise, slay me, as I do this lamb.” On pronouncing these words, he broke the skull of the lamb with the flint.

The Romans were defeated ; and Scipio, who had received

a dangerous wound, would probably have died on the spot, had not his son, afterwards the great Africanus, brought him off by a surprising effort of courage. The next battle, which was more disastrous to the Republic, was fought at Trebia. The defeat was attributed by the Romans to the presumptuous rashness of the consul Sempronius. Hannibal's third victory was gained near the lake Thrasyménus. The consul Flaminius and 15,000 of his army were slain. In this emergency Fabius Maximus was appointed dictator—a man distinguished for the coolness of his temper, and the great caution with which he proceeded in all his actions. He began the exercise of his office by a particular attention to the rites and ceremonies of the religion of his country. The Sibylline books were consulted to ascertain the causes of the present calamities, and the guardians of these oracles declared, that the misfortunes of the Republic were owing to an improper performance of a vow to Mars; that it ought to be repeated, and four new vows made to several deities, beside a dedication to Jupiter of all the pigs and lambs, kids and calves, which should be produced in one spring.

Hannibal had now become master of a great part of Italy, and he pushed on his army through Umbria and Picenum, to the country of the Samnites. Unwilling to endanger the very existence of the Republic by the chance of another defeat, Fabius avoided a general engagement; he encamped always on the hills, where the Carthaginians durst not attack: he knew that his army was sure to be supplied with provisions from the great depository at Rome, while the army of Hannibal could only be sustained by the success of foraging parties. On one occasion Hannibal was nearly entrapped by Fabius in the Straits of Callicula, in the same manner that he had entrapped Flaminius in the Straits of the lake Thrasymenus. But Hannibal, whose great abilities were equal to any emergency, adopted a singular and cruel expedient to extricate his army. He collected two thousand oxen, and, tying faggots of wood to their horns, set these on fire by night, and ordered the oxen to be driven up the mountains. While Fabius was in a state of great perplexity, the Carthaginian ordered his army to march silently through the pass, and before dawn reached the open country without molestation.

The cautious operations of the great Roman general gave great dissatisfaction to his army and the Roman people. He received the name of Cunctator or delayer, and was even accused of cowardice, and exposed to the taunting sneers of

the wits of Rome. They observed that "Fabius was Hannibal's schoolmaster, and not his competitor," that "the dictator had chosen a convenient point of view, from which he might see their fields burning and their towns laid waste; and that, not thinking the earth any longer safe, he had pitched his camp in heaven, that he might cover himself with the clouds." His reply to these bitter sarcasms evinces the greatness of his mind. Being urged by some of his friends to wipe off these aspersions by risking a battle, he said, "I should be a more dastardly spirit than they represent me, if, through fear of insults and reproaches, I should depart from my own resolution. But to fear for my country is not a disgraceful fear. *That man is unworthy of such a command as this, who shrinks under calumnies and slanders, and complies with the humor of those whom he ought to govern, and whose folly and rashness it is his duty to restrain.*"

The wisdom of the Cunctator's conduct was manifested soon after the indignity offered him, by the appointment of his chief enemy, Minucius, to an office inconsistent with the undivided and supreme power, that had hitherto been exercised by the Dictator. This reviler of the protector of the state, got an unprecedented law passed, declaring him equal in command to the Dictator himself. The Roman army was accordingly divided into two parts, and Hannibal, rejoicing in this act of folly and ingratitude, tempted Minucius into the plains, drew him into an ambush, and led him to the brink of destruction. Fabius, devoted to his country's welfare, rejected with scorn the temptation, now presented, to let his unworthy colleague experience the full effect of his own rashness. When he learnt that the army of his colleague was surrounded and broken, he said with a deep sigh to his friends, "How much sooner than I expected, has Minucius ruined himself." Having commanded his whole army to advance, his generosity probably overcoming his judgment, he said, "Now, my brave soldiers, if any one has a regard for Minucius let him exert himself; for he deserves assistance for his valor, and the love he bears his country. If, in his haste to drive out the enemy, he has committed an error, this is not a time to find fault with him." By this timely aid, the army was saved from destruction, and "the coals of fire which were heaped on his head" melted his mind to gratitude, and redeemed his character from lasting reproach. When Fabius came out, Minucius fixed his standard before him, and with a loud voice saluted him by the name of Father. "You have this day, Fabius, obtained two victories;

one over the enemy by your valor, the other over your colleague by your prudence and humanity. By the former you saved us, by the latter you have instructed us. I call you Father, not knowing a more honorable name. I am more indebted to you than to any real father. To him I owe my being, but to you the preservation of my life, and the lives of all these brave men." After this he threw himself into the arms of Fabius, and the soldiers of each army embraced one another, with every expression of tenderness, and with tears of joy.

In the next year occurred the great and terrible battle of Cannæ, which threatened forever to extinguish the Roman name. In this battle there fell 70,000 Romans, and among them one consul, two consuls of the preceding year, twenty-one principal officers, and four-score senators. The slaughter would have been greater, had not Hannibal called on all sides to his soldiers to spare the vanquished. Three bushels of gold rings, taken from the fingers of the slain, are said to have been sent to Carthage. The patriotic spirit of the Romans on this dreadful calamity is beyond all praise. Their undaunted courage never appeared so illustrious as on this occasion. When the consul Varro, the only officer of rank that survived the battle, sent word to Rome, that he was endeavoring to collect the fragments of his army, the Senate returned him thanks, that he had not despaired of the Republic. No inhabitant of Rome bore so mean a spirit as to breathe a word of peace; and the Senate, when Hannibal sent a message proposing the ransom of the prisoners, magnanimously delivered the sentiment of Regulus, that "*a citizen who had thrown down his arms before an enemy, was unworthy to be considered as a member of the commonwealth.*"

Fabius, who, before the battle, was deemed cold and timid, now appeared to his countrymen to be directed by counsels, the dictates of a divine wisdom, which penetrated into futurity, and foresaw what seemed incredible to the very persons who experienced it. In him Rome placed her hope; his judgment was the temple to which they flew for refuge. He, who in times of apparent security seemed to be deficient in confidence and resolution, now walked about the city with a calm and easy pace, with a firm countenance, a mild and gracious address. He caused the Senate to meet; he encouraged the magistrates, and was himself the soul and actuating spring of all. Many remarkable sayings and actions of this great man are recorded, which well deserve to be treasured in the memory.

Being informed that a Marcian in his army, who was not inferior to any of the allies, had solicited some of his men to desert, he acknowledged that he had been too much neglected, and declared, at the same time, that he was sensible how much his officers had been to blame in distributing honors more out of favor than regard to merit, and that in future he should take it ill, if he did not apply to him when he had any request to make. This was followed with a present of a war horse, and other marks of honor. The discontented officer was deeply impressed by this generous treatment, and evinced his sense of it by his exemplary zeal and fidelity. Fabius thought it unnatural, "that while those who breed dogs and horses, soften their stubborn tempers, and bring down their fierce spirits by care and kindness, rather than whips and chains, he who has the command of men should not endeavor to correct their errors by gentleness and goodness, but treat them even in a harsher and more violent manner than gardeners do wild fig trees, wild pears, and olives, whose nature they subdue by cultivation, and which by that means they bring to produce very agreeable fruit."

Among other honors which the Romans paid to Fabius, they elected his son consul. On one occasion, the father mounted the consul's horse to ride up to him. Young Fabius, seeing him at a distance, sent one of the lictors to order him to dismount. The whole assembly expressed by their looks their resentment of the indignity offered to a person of his character. But the elder Fabius instantly alighted, and ran to his son, and embraced him with great tenderness. "My son," said he, "I applaud your sentiments and your behavior. You know what people you command, and have a just sense of the dignity of your office. This was the way that we and our forefathers took to advance Rome to her present height of glory, always considering the honor and interest of our country before that of our fathers and children."

## CHAPTER XIII.

### MARCELLUS AND THE SIEGE OF SYRACUSE.

After the great battle of Cannæ, the Romans expected that Hannibal would directly march upon Rome; and his generalship is much censured by Livy because he did not immediately lay siege to the capital. "Hannibal," it was said, "knows how to conquer, but he knows not how to take advantage of his victories." But it is probable, that his sagacity discerned that the enterprise was too hazardous. He had experienced the courage, steadiness, and unwearied exertions of his enemies, and he was entirely unprovided with implements for carrying on a siege. After this defeat, the Romans, convinced that they could not hope to conquer the Carthaginians in a general battle, divided their troops into many armies, never risked their whole strength in one action, but contented themselves with wasting Hannibal's forces in small engagements, harrassing his allies, and protecting their own. Hannibal was many years hemmed in among the Bruttians, in a corner of Italy, without supplies from his own country, and in want of men and money. Considering the small number of his troops, the towns which he had to garrison, and the allies to protect, it is rather more a subject of surprise that he remained so long in Italy, than that he made no progress in conquest.

One of the inevitable consequences of the battle of Cannæ, was the defection of many of the allies of Rome. The most faithful and generous of the friends of Rome was Hiero, king of Syracuse, who died in the year of this great defeat. The city immediately declared for its ancient allies, the Carthaginians, and Marcellus, called the sword of Rome, (Fabricius was denominated its shield) was appointed to reduce it to subjection. The siege of this city lasted three years, in spite of the utmost efforts of the Romans, a resistance effected by the machines constructed by Archimédes—the most celebrated mathematician of antiquity. History informs us, that when the Romans attacked the city by sea and land, the inhabitants

were struck dumb with terror, imagining that they could not possibly resist such numerous forces, and so furious an assault. But Archimedes soon began to play his engines, which shot against the land forces all sorts of missive weapons, and stones of an enormous size, with an incredible noise and rapidity, which nothing could resist; they overturned and crushed whatever came in their way, and spread terrible disorder throughout the ranks. On the side towards the sea were erected vast machines, stretching forth on a sudden over the walls, huge beams with suitable tackle, which, striking with a prodigious force on the enemy's galleys, sunk them at once; while other ships, hoisted up at the prows by iron grapples or hooks, like the beaks of cranes, and set on end on the stern, were plunged to the bottom of the sea: and others by ropes and grapples, were drawn towards the shore, and, after being whirled about, and dashed against the rocks that projected below the walls, were broken to pieces, and the crews perished. Very often a ship, lifted high above the sea, suspended and twirling in the air, presented a most dreadful spectacle. There it swung till the men were thrown out by the violence of the motion, and then it split against the walls, or sunk on the engine's letting go its hold. The Roman general Marcellus was obliged to retire. "Why do we not," said he, "leave off contending with this mathematical Briareus, who, sitting on the shore, and acting as it were in jest, has shamefully baffled our naval assault; and in striking us with such a number of bolts at once, exceeds even the hundred handed giants in the fable." At last, the Romans were so terrified, that if they saw but a rope or a stick put over the walls, they cried out, that Archimedes was levelling some machine at them, and turned their backs and fled. Marcellus gave up all thoughts of proceeding by assault, and, leaving the matter to time, turned the siege into a blockade.

Archimedes is said to have been asked by Hiero to ascertain if the goldsmith, whom he had employed to make a golden crown for him, had used all the precious metal in the workmanship. The crown was of the proper weight, but was suspected to be alloyed with silver. The difficulty was to measure the bulk of the crown without melting it into a regular figure. For silver being, weight for weight, of greater bulk than gold, any alloy of the former, in place of an equal weight of the latter, would necessarily increase the bulk of the crown. While thinking on this subject, Archimedes went to bathe, and on stepping into the bath, which was full, observed the

very simple fact, that a quantity of water, of the same bulk as his body, must flow over before he could immerse himself. It immediately struck him, that by immersing a weight of real gold, equal to that which the crown ought to have contained, in a vessel full of water, and observing how much water was left, when the weight was taken out again, and by afterwards doing the same thing with the crown itself, he could ascertain whether the latter exceeded the former in bulk. As soon as he had found out the method of detection, he did not wait a moment, but jumping joyfully out of the bath, and running undressed towards his own house, called out with a loud voice, "I have found it! I have found it!" While he was in Egypt he discovered the screw which bears his name. "Though in the invention of machines, he gained," says Plutarch, "the reputation of a man endowed with divine rather than human knowledge, he did not vouchsafe to leave any account of them in writing; for he considered all attention to mechanics, and every art that ministers to common uses, as mean and sordid, and placed his whole delight in those intellectual speculations, which, without any relation to the necessities of life, have an intrinsic excellence, arising from truth and demonstration only."

Syracuse was at length taken by surprise, when the inhabitants were indulging in intemperate mirth on the festival of Diana. A soldier, it is said, entered the study of Archimedes, so intent on his mathematical researches, that he did not hear the tumultuous noise in the streets, and ordered him to follow him to Marcellus. The philosopher, refusing to obey till he had finished his problem, was instantly put to death by the enraged Roman. According to another version of this story, the soldier rushed up to Archimedes on entering the room, and put his sword to his throat. "Hold!" said he, "one moment, and my demonstration will be finished." Marcellus was much concerned at his death, and turned away his face from his assassin as from an impious and execrable person. He particularly inquired after the relations of the philosopher, and bestowed upon them many signal favors.

The fall of Syracuse is a memorable event in the history of Rome; since by the introduction of the statues and paintings found in this luxurious city, a taste for the fine arts was created. "Before this," says Plutarch, "Rome neither had nor knew any curiosities of this kind, being a stranger to the charms of taste and elegance. Full of arms taken from barbarous nations, and of bloody spoils, and crowned, as she was,



with trophies and other monuments of her triumphs, she afforded not a cheerful and pleasing spectacle fit for men brought up in ease and luxury, but her look was awful and severe. One might then have styled Rome the temple of frowning Mars. Marcellus was more acceptable to the people, because he adorned the city with curiosities in the Grecian taste. But the graver citizens condemned him, and said, that he had corrupted a people inured to agriculture and war, and wholly unacquainted with luxury and sloth, by furnishing them with an occasion of idleness and vain discourse. They now began to spend a great part of their time in disputing about arts and artists. But Marcellus despised these censures, and boasted that he was the first, who taught the Romans to esteem and admire the exquisite performances of Greece."

This eminent general had some years before distinguished himself in a war against the Gauls, in which he obtained the *Spolia opima* by killing Virodomarus, the king of the enemy. When the two armies were on the point of engaging, the barbarian king, advancing before his troops, defied the Roman general to single combat. Marcellus joyfully accepted the challenge, rushed upon his enemy, killed him, and stripped him of his armor. Milan was taken; and the Gauls, surrendering the rest of their cities, obtained favorable conditions of peace. The Senate decreed a triumph to Marcellus. The rich spoils that were displayed, the prodigious size of the captives, and the magnificence with which the whole was conducted, rendered it the most splendid that had ever been seen. But the most remarkable spectacle was Marcellus himself, carrying the armor of Virodomarus, which he had vowed to Jupiter. He cut the trunk of an oak in the form of a trophy, which he adorned with the spoils of that barbarian, and every part of his arms in handsome order. When the procession began to move, he mounted his chariot, which was drawn by four horses, and passed through the city, having on his shoulders the trophy, that was the noblest ornament of the whole triumph. The army followed, clad in elegant armor, and singing odes composed on that occasion, and other songs of triumph, in honor of Jupiter and their general. The Romans, rejoicing in the glorious termination of this war, made an offering to Apollo, at Delphi, of a golden cup, in testimony of their gratitude; they also liberally shared the spoils with the confederate cities, and made a very handsome present out of them to Hiero, king of Syracuse, their friend and ally.

On another occasion, after his achievements in Sicily,

Marcellus enjoyed a lesser triumph, called an ovation. In this the general did not ride in a triumphal chariot drawn by four horses; he was not crowned with laurel, nor had he trumpets sounding before him; but, he walked in sandals, attended with the music of many flutes, and wearing a crown of myrtle.

On his return from Sicily, he was desirous to dedicate to Honor and Virtue the temple which he had built out of the Sicilian spoils, but he was opposed by the priests, who would not consent that two deities should be contained in one temple. They alleged, that if the temple should be struck with lightning, or any other prodigy should happen to it that wanted expiation, they would not know to which of the deities to offer the expiatory sacrifice. "There were many prodigies at this time which gave him uneasiness. Some temples were struck with lightning; in that of Jupiter rats gnawed the gold; and it was reported that an ox spoke, and that there was a child living, that was born with an elephant's head; and when the expiations of these prodigies was attempted, there were no tokens of success. The augurs would not, under the circumstances, allow him to leave home, notwithstanding his impatience and eagerness to have a decisive battle with Hannibal. Such was the gross superstition of the Roman people. These and similar prodigies are related by grave historians with every indication of implicit faith. Thus we are told that when Alexander had lost his way in the Libyan desert, a flock of crows suddenly made their appearance and directed him; and that during the night when he happened to go wrong, these birds called him by their croaking, and put him in the right course; that the stars of Castor and Pollux appeared on each side the helm of Lysander's ship;" that Antony's statue in Alba was covered with perspiration for some days, which returned though it was frequently wiped off; that in Cleopatra's royal galley, a terrible phenomenon appeared—some swallows built their nests in the stern, and others drove them away and destroyed their young; that when the fire on an altar seemed to be extinguished, a strong and bright flame suddenly broke out of the embers, by which great terror was excited; that the eclipse of the moon portended the sudden obscurity of something that was at present glorious; that a swarm of bees settling on Dion's ship intimated that all his glorious prospects would come to nothing; that pigs born without ears was an omen of rebellion and revolt; that a large fish seizing the hinder part of a pig, plainly announced, that

the lower part of the city near the sea would be taken ; that the sedition of Marius was prefigured by fire blazing of its own accord from the ensign staves, and by three ravens bringing their young into the city and devouring them there ; that in the presence of the whole Senate, a sparrow brought a grasshopper in its mouth, and having torn it in two, left one part among them, and carried the other off, by which the divines declared, that they apprehended a dangerous sedition and dispute between the town and country, for the inhabitants of the town are noisy like grasshoppers, and those of the country are domestic beings like the sparrow ; that the river Picene was seen flowing with blood, and that three moons appeared over the city of Amrisium, in consequence of which the consuls were recalled ; and that because the squeaking of a rat happened to be heard at the moment Minucius appointed Flaminius his general of the horse, the people obliged them to quit their posts and appoint others in their stead."

These are only a specimen of the lying wonders, and superstitious apprehensions, and credulity of the Pagan world ; and, whoever believed them not was esteemed by the people profane and impious. Livy himself severely condemns those who did not believe, and receive with profound awe, these idle tales and ridiculous interpretations. And, why do we treat them with laughter and contempt ? Why can we scarcely persuade ourselves that the system of heathen mythology, with all its prodigies and omens, ever prevailed in the world, and amongst the most civilized nations of antiquity ? Are we, in the general science of the mind, superior to the great sages of antiquity, many of whom, it is certain, implicitly received the mythology of their country, and firmly believed the accounts of prodigies, and, with complete prostration of the understanding, listened to the explanations of their soothsayers ? Are the men of our age in intellect before Xenophon, the pupil the Socrates, the great captain and philosopher, who, by his master's advice, consulted the oracle of Delphi, who sacrificed to a cold north wind, who consulted the sacrifices in secret to determine his conduct, who was himself an augur, and on one occasion was determined by the victims to refuse the sole command of an army, who mentions with evident faith the descent of Hercules to the lower regions, who had almost starved his army rather than lead them into the field against the auspices, whose conduct was, on many occasions, influenced by dreams, and who, with his whole army, regarded sneezing as a very lucky omen ? It will be admitted, that, notwithstanding the wonderful

discoveries in natural philosophy, the master spirits of modern times do not surpass in pure intellect the wise men of Greece and Rome. And yet, children even regard with contempt and ridicule the religion, and religious practices of these great men, whose names are chronicled in records that will last to the end of time. Whence is this? There is only one answer that can satisfy any unprejudiced mind. "The true Light hath appeared." "Through the tender mercy of our God, the day spring from on high hath visited us, to give light to them that sat in darkness, and in the shadow of death." "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." With what joy and gratitude would not Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, and other philosophers of antiquity, have received the marvellous light, which many men of modern days, wise in their own conceits, represent as unnecessary, and therefore not Divine? The light of Nature they deem sufficient.

"Vain, wretched creature! how art thou misled,  
To think thy wit these god-like notions bred!  
These truths are not the product of thy mind,  
But dropp'd from Heaven, and of a nobler kind.  
Reveal'd Religion first inform'd thy sight,  
And Reason saw not till Faith sprung the light.  
Hence all thy natural worship takes the source:  
'Tis Revelation what thou think'st discourse.  
Else how com'st thou to see these truths so clear,  
Which so obscure to heathens did appear?  
Not Plato these, nor Aristotle found;  
Nor he whose wisdom oracles renown'd.  
Hast thou a wit so deep, or so sublime?  
Or canst thou lower dive, or higher climb?  
Can'st thou by reason more of Godhead know  
Than Plutarch, Seneca, or Cicero?  
Those giant wits in earlier ages born,  
When arms and arts did Greece and Rome adorn,  
Knew no such system; no such piles could raise  
Of natural worship, built on prayer and praise  
To one sole God."

DRYDEN.

"And with respect to a rule of conduct, the morality of Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, is superlatively pre-eminent. The precepts of Christianity (says one who had made the study of the Classics almost the sole business of his life) respecting

the regulation of human life in every branch of duty, whether relative or personal, not only excel in sublimity of sentiment, and in suitableness to the great end of all morality, I mean, the refinement of the heart and the exaltation of character to the highest point attainable by our measure of rational intelligence; the Gospel precepts not only excel, I say, in these respects the morality of any single philosopher of antiquity, but the concentrated wisdom of every moralist and philosopher of every age and nation, even when purged from that mass of impurity, absurdity and error, which so debases the systems of heathen discipline. The true scholar is well assured from evidence most unequivocal, that our Saviour brought down from the skies what Socrates wished, but wished in vain. Produce me the man, who can justly claim a superiority, in native endowments of intellect and heart, and the accomplishments of learning to the Platos, the Aristotles, the Xenophons, the Tullies of Greece and Rome. Is that, shall we suppose, within the compass of his capacity, which these heroes of literature and genius were unable to attain? So then, to form a true judgment of the powers of unassisted reason, and the progress of natural religion, we ought, in all propriety and fairness, to recur to those systems of morality, which existed *before* the birth of Christ. They alone are the reasonable specimens of those powers; the genuine criterion of that progress. The numerous schemes of moral philosophy, devised, or rather drawn up, beneath the sunshine of Gospel light, have received too much illumination from that source of brightness, to pass with considerate examiners for a proper test of the abilities of man, unaided by revelation. Yes, educated under those benign influences, which *Christianity* has shed on life and manners, we have imperceptibly imbibed a portion of its vivifying spirit; and easily mistake that for an emanation of borrowed light, which is but a *reflection* of a brighter luminary, unobserved merely from a long familiarity with its effects. The fountain of living waters first flowed indeed only through the country of Judea; but has since distributed rivulets of health and vigor through every civilized region of the universe. Nay, further, the purer morality of the later *Grecian* schools, and the striking superiority discernible in the theories of modern times over those of the old philosophers, afford of themselves an incontrovertible demonstration, that the waters of Israel far transcend in salutary virtues Arbana and Pharpar, and all the rivers of Damascus. Tossed about by the contending waves of Gentile philosophy, and wandering with an uncertain course

under the glimmerings of natural religion, my vessel flies for refuge into the haven of the Gospel ; where she may cast at length the anchor of her hope, and ride in safety."

Marcellus, after his return from Syracuse, was again appointed to oppose Hannibal, whose continuance in Italy did not deter the Romans from sending troops into Spain, where Publius Scipio, and his brother Cneius, were cut off with the greatest part of their forces. In this campaign Marcellus behaved with greater vigor than before; many of the towns of the Samnites, who had revolted, were recovered, and 300 of the soldiers of Hannibal were made prisoners. Some time after, an engagement with the Carthaginian general miscarried, owing to an ill executed movement. Marcellus retreated into his camp, and having summoned his troops together, told them, "He saw the arms and bodies of Romans in abundance before him, but not one Roman." On begging pardon, he said, "He would not forgive them while vanquished, but, when they came to be victorious, he would; and that he would lead them into the field again next day, that the news of the victory might reach Rome before that of their flight. The next morning the soldiers were drawn up in order, and the troops that had come off with dishonor before, obtained leave, at their earnest request, to be posted in the foremost line. Hannibal, on this occasion, exclaimed, "Ye gods, what can one do with a man who is not affected with either good or bad fortune? This is the only man who will neither give any time to rest when he is victorious, nor take any when he is beaten. We must even resolve to fight with him forever; since, whether prosperous or unsuccessful, a principle of honor leads him on to new attempts and further exertions of courage." The conflict was dreadful, and almost equally disastrous to each army. Eight thousand Carthaginians were slain, and so desperate, and so determined were the Romans to retrieve their injured honor, that almost all were wounded.—Hannibal overran the country, burning and destroying all before him. Marcellus, however, was soon again in the field at the head of another army, but being not sufficiently vigilant against the snares of his enemy, he imprudently separated himself from his camp, and was killed in an ambuscade, in the sixtieth year of his age, in his fifth consulship. B. C. 207.

When Hannibal learned that Marcellus was killed, he hastened to the place, and, standing over the body a long time, surveyed its size and mien, but without speaking one insulting word, or showing the least sign of joy. "O, what a noble

mind is here o'erthrown." He caused his body to be magnificently attired and burnt, and the ashes to be put into a silver urn, and then placed a crown of gold upon it, and sent it to his son.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

There was at this time a rising genius in Rome, that fixed on himself all eyes, and won all hearts. This was Publius Cornelius Scipio, the son of the pro-consul. Though only twenty-one years of age, yet he was thought well qualified to succeed to the command in Spain, the country where his father and his uncle had lost their lives. He brought reinforcements, collected the remains of their armies, and he composed and conciliated the districts north of the Ibérus. Having spent the remainder of the year in these occupations, he signalized the next by an expedition against New Carthage, now Carthagena, founded by the Carthaginians, and the capital of their possessions in Spain. Such was the wisdom of his measures, and so great the enthusiasm both of the Romans and allies to execute his orders, that, to the great dismay and astonishment of the Carthaginians, he won the town by assault the first day. The Carthaginians lost their capital by their too great confidence in its security. New Carthage was the great emporium of the Africans in that part of the world, and was therefore full of riches of various kinds. But what Scipio considered of greater importance, and was to him the occasion of great glory, it contained the hostages which the Carthaginians had demanded from all the kingdoms of Spain, and which they held in safe custody, as the pledge of the fidelity of their tributaries. All these Scipio liberated, believing that he should obtain more faithful assistance by this unprecedented act of generosity, than by detaining securely the persons of those who were so dear to their countrymen. Nor was he disappointed in his generous policy. Spain, in a few years, became the most faithful and the most valuable of all the provinces of the Roman empire.

Among the hostages were several ladies of high rank, the wives and daughters of the first personages of Spain. These were, by his order, brought into his presence. One of them, a



venerable princess, wife of Mandonius, brother of the king of the Hergetes, cast herself at his feet, imploring, "that he would give the strictest orders, concerning their treatment, and the respect to be observed to them." Scipio replied, "that she might depend upon nothing being wanting to them suitable to their rank." And on her explaining her apprehensions respecting the fate of the youthful and beautiful princesses, he said, "the virtue and dignity which you have displayed under your misfortunes, particularly oblige me to be attentive to your demand." He then committed the care of these ladies of distinction to officers of approved fidelity, and ordered that they should be treated with the same respect that was due to the sisters and daughters of the first men of Rome.

Soon after this, a female captive of pre-eminent beauty was brought before him. Scipio enquired after her country and her parents, and, being told that she was betrothed to a Celtiberian prince, named Allucius, ordered that Allucius and her parents should be sent for. Taking the young prince aside, he said, "Your betrothed has been among us, as she would have been in the house of her father and mother. I deliver her to you, and all that I ask of you in return is, that if sincere and honorable conduct appear worthy of your estimation, you will henceforth be a friend to the Roman people." The relations of the young lady had brought with them a considerable sum for her ransom, and they desired Scipio to accept their money as a free gift, declaring, "that in so doing they should consider him as conferring on them no less an obligation, than when he returned to them their daughter uninjured." Scipio yielded to their importunity, and ordered the gold to be brought, and laid at his feet. Then calling for Allucius, he said, "In addition to the dowry you will receive from your father-in-law, allow me to present you with this sum as a marriage gift." Overcome with the noble behavior of the Roman general, Allucius imparted to all whom he met the same feelings of admiration, and published, wherever he went, "that there was come among them a young hero terrible and beneficent as the immortals, and all conquering by his benignity as by his sword."

When the children, who were hostages, appeared, he called them to him one by one, and caressed, and soothed them; telling them that in a short time they should see their parents. The rest he ordered to write to their several cities that they were safe and well, and that they should soon be permitted to return to their respective habitations, if their friends would only consent

to embrace the alliance of the Romans. Having before selected from the spoils what was most proper for his design, he presented all of them with such ornaments as were suitable to their sex and age. To the girls he gave bracelets and little pictures, and to the young men and boys, swords and poinards.

Asdrubal, the Carthaginian general, after the defeat of the two elder Scipios, believing that Spain was quite secure, crossed the Pyrenees and the Alps with a view of joining Hannibal, and reducing the whole of Italy to subjection. He approached the Po, besieged Placentia, and pushed on his march for the province of Umbria, where he expected to meet his brother. Asdrubal, from the arrival of fresh troops at the Roman camp, entertained the suspicion that his brother was defeated, and; dismayed at this apprehension, broke up his camp in the night, and retreated, and while his army was in a state of confusion, from having been misled by a faithless guide, he was attacked on the banks of the Metaurus, defeated, and slain. His head was thrown into Hannibal's tent. The brave Carthaginian, on recognizing the ghastly features of his brother, for the first time despaired of success, and exclaimed, "It is done; I will no longer send triumphant messages to Carthage; my brother being dead, with him have perished the hopes and the fortunes of our house."

Scipio spent five successive years in Spain, and did not leave that country, till an enemy was no longer to be found. He repeatedly fought and defeated the Carthaginians. He subdued the natives not only by his arms, but also by the engaging nobleness and generosity of his behavior. Some of these barbarous tribes broke their engagements, and renewed the war; but they were again reduced, and their leaders, being brought before Scipio, entreated his forgiveness. The Roman general replied, "By the ill use you have made of my former clemency, and by your breach of the most solemn engagements, you have deserved to die: live, nevertheless, and owe your lives to my forbearance, and that of the Roman people. I shall not disarm you; that would appear as if I feared you; nor if you should once more abuse my patience, will I take vengeance on your blameless hostages, but upon yourselves."

Scipio regarded the conquest of Spain as a step leading to the invasion of Africa. This was the measure to which his mind prompted him from the termination of the war. Having now entered the thirtieth year of his age, he sought and obtained the consulship. B. C. 205. Sicily was the province assigned him, with liberty to pass into Africa, if he thought

proper. He spent this year in making immense preparations, and the next sailed over for Carthage. He defeated and took prisoner, Syphax, king of Numidia, and also routed the Carthaginian army, and burnt their camp.

The whole army were much affected with the spectacle of king Syphax in chains, a prince whose alliance had been so lately courted by two powerful republics. When Scipio asked him, "what it was that could have induced him to reject the alliance of Rome, and without provocation to take up arms against her;" "Madness!" answered Syphax; "I married a Carthaginian woman, and it was the nuptial torch that set my palace on fire; Sophonisba was the sorceress, who, by her enchantments deprived me of my reason; nor did she ever rest till with her own hands, she armed me with those impious weapons which I have employed against my guest and my friend; but, in the midst of my adversity and ruin, I have this consolation left, that I see the pest, the fury, gone into the house of my most implacable enemy; Masinissa will not be more prudent nor steady than Syphax; Sophonisba will have all power over him."

Masinissa, who had married the traitoress, was courteously received by Scipio, who, however, remonstrated with him on the gross impropriety of his conduct; and said, "There is not, believe me, there is not so much danger to our years, from armed enemies, as from the pleasures that on all sides surround us. He who has acquired the mastery over his appetites and passions, has made a nobler conquest, and gained greater glory, than we by our vanquishing king Syphax." The prince, overcome with grief and passion, when he found that Sophonisba must be delivered up to the Romans, sent to her a poisonous draught, with the message, "Sophonisba, mindful of her father, her country, and the two kings, whose wife she has been, will consult her own honor." When the minister of death came to the queen, and, with the message, presented her the poison: "I accept," said she, "the marriage gift, nor is it unwelcome, if my husband could indeed do nothing kinder for his wife." She took the cup with a steady hand, and drank its contents.

Many prodigies are said to have occurred at this time, (among which we read of two suns shining at night,) and, the Sibylline books being consulted for the proper expiations, it was found written, "That if a foreign enemy invaded Italy, he might be vanquished and driven out, if the goddess Cybele were brought to Rome from Pessinus in Phrygia." This

Cybele, styled "the mother of the gods," was a shapeless stone, which was said to have fallen from heaven on Mount Ida. The Senators sent five ambassadors, men of distinction, to obtain by negotiation this object of profound adoration. The oracle of Delphi was consulted on the occasion, and a favorable answer was received with the strict charge, however, that they should commit her to the guardianship of the most virtuous man in the Republic. P. Scipio, surnamed Nasica, a young man, obtained the office. Attended by the most virtuous ladies of Rome, and some of the Vestal Virgins, he proceeded to meet the goddess. The vessel struck on a bank of sand, near the mouth of the Tiber, and when neither the mariners, nor several yoke of oxen were able to move it, Quinta Claudia, it is said, in answer to her prayer, set it afloat with her girdle. The day on which Cybele arrived at Rome, became a solemn annual festival, distinguished by games, called Megalenses.

The success of Scipio in Africa, rendered it necessary that Hannibal should be recalled from Italy. The historian of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" observes: "The unsuccessful expedition of Hannibal, served only to display the character of the Senate and people; of a Senate degraded, rather than ennobled, by the comparison of an assembly of kings; and of a people to whom the ambassador of Pyrrhus ascribed the inexhaustible resources of the Hydra. Each of the Senators, in the time of the Punic war, had accomplished his term of military service, either in a subordinate or a superior station, and the decree, which invested with temporary command all those who had been consuls, or censors, or dictators, gave the Republic the immediate assistance of many brave and experienced generals. In the beginning of the war, the Roman people consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand citizens of an age to bear arms. Fifty thousand had already died in the defence of their country; and the twenty-three legions, which were employed in the different camps of Italy, Greece, Sardinia, Sicily and Spain, required about one hundred thousand men. But there still remained an equal number in Rome, and the adjacent territory, who were animated by the same intrepid courage. And every citizen was trained, from his earliest youth, in the discipline and exercise of a soldier. Hannibal was astonished by the constancy of the Senate, who, without raising the siege of Capua, or recalling their scattered forces, expected his approach. He encamped on the banks of the Anio, at the distance of three miles from the city: and he was soon informed, that the ground on which he had

pitched his tent, was sold for an adequate price at a public auction; and that a body of troops was dismissed by an opposite road, to reinforce the legions of Spain. He led his Africans to the gates of Rome, where he found three armies in order of battle, prepared to receive him; but Hannibal dreaded the event of a combat, from which he could not hope to escape, unless he destroyed the last of his enemies; and his speedy retreat confessed the invincible courage of the Romans."

Hannibal received the summons, to return to Carthage, with groans, and almost with tears. During sixteen years, he had kept that country under continual alarms. "Now," he said, "the Senate openly and expressly recall me; but they have been dragging me away ever since they refused to send me supplies of men and money. The Romans, whom I have so often routed, have not vanquished Hannibal. It is the Carthaginian Senate, that, by detraction and envy, have overcome me."

The two heroes met on the plains of Zama, and the inveterate enemy of Rome now proposed terms of peace. "Here, in Africa, I, who became master of the greatest part of your country, am come to treat with a Roman for my country's preservation. Such are the sports of fortune. Is she then to be trusted because she smiles? An advantageous peace is preferable to the hope of victory." The conditions were not accepted. The victory was contended for on both sides with the utmost coolness, sagacity, and courage. After a dreadful slaughter of 20,000 Carthaginians, the Romans were successful, and Carthage was reduced to the hard necessity of renouncing all claims to Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia, and was also required to surrender all her ships of war, except ten, which number she was never to exceed; to engage never to commence any war out of Africa, or even within that continent, without leave from the Roman people; and to pay a large annual tribute as a token of her subjection. Thus ended the second Punic war.

Hannibal, the greatest general of ancient times, was obliged to become an exile from the country which he had served with unwearied fidelity. He fled to Antiochus, king of Syria, who, being conquered by the Romans, treacherously stipulated to deliver the fugitive into their hands. Apprised of the terms on which the peace was concluded, he sought and obtained refuge in the court of Prusias, king of Bythinia. His relentless enemies did not allow him to rest in peace. The Senate

received intelligence of the place of his abode, and immediately sent ambassadors to demand him of Prusias. The king was unwilling to betray Hannibal, and violate the laws of hospitality ; but, at the same time, he dreaded the power of Rome. Hannibal extricated him from his embarrassment, and when he heard that his house was besieged on every side, and all means of escape fruitless, he took a dose of poison, which he always carried with him in a ring on his finger ; and as he breathed his last, he exclaimed, “ We deliver Rome from her perpetual fears and disquiet, since she has not the patience to wait for the death of an old man.” He died in his seventieth year. B. C. 182.

Hannibal was a consummate general, and he also distinguished himself by his studies. He was well versed in Grecian literature, and wrote several books in this language on different subjects. He made himself also conspicuous as a statesman. He was the friend of the people, and on this account was perpetually thwarted in all his measures by the jealousy of the nobility—a feeling which, in the end, proved fatal to Carthage itself ; for had they yielded to his repeated solicitations for reinforcements, Scipio would, probably, have never been allowed to carry the war into Africa. Hannibal freed Carthage from the tyranny of the perpetual judges ; he obliged the nobles to account for the public money, which they had embezzled, and he prevented an unnecessary and oppressive tax from being imposed on the people. This great man, when he was obliged to go into banishment, departed, lamenting the misfortunes of his country more than his own.

“ He left the name, at which the world grew pale,  
To point a moral, or adorn a tale.”

Ten years after the conclusion of the second Punic war, the Romans took up arms against Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, the most powerful monarch of his time. His empire extended through the various states of Asia Minor as far as the *Ægean* sea. The conduct of this war was committed to Lucius Scipio, brother of Scipio Africanus, and this illustrious hero did not disdain to assume the character of lieutenant on this occasion. The war was brought to a triumphant conclusion in two years from its commencement, and Antiochus was condemned, in future, to regard mount Taurus as the farthest limits of his authority to the west, and to pay a yearly fine of 2,000 talents to the Romans. His revenues being unequal to

discharge the heavy tribute, he attempted to plunder the temple of Belus, in Susiana, which act of impiety so much incensed the inhabitants, that they killed him, with his followers. B.C. 187. As a king, he was humane and liberal, the patron of learning, and the friend of merit; and he published an edict, ordering his subjects never to obey, except his commands were consistent with the laws of his country. Of the three sons who survived, two were kept as hostages by the Romans, and his grandson, Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, is well known from his atrocious cruelty to the Jews, of which we have a very interesting, but shocking, account in the books of the Maccabees. This tyrant, whom the Jews called Epimanes, or furious, on many occasions degraded the dignity of his station. He was fond of childish diversions, and sometimes amused himself by emptying bags of money into the streets, that he might witness the eagerness and struggles of the people in gathering it; he spent large sums of money in perfumery; he sometimes danced among the stage players; and he invited all the Greeks in Antioch to an entertainment, and waited upon them as a servant, and then acted the part of a hired mimic and dancer.

After the defeat of Antiochus the Great, the Romans regarded the kings of Syria as their vassals, and when that capricious tyrant, (of whose follies and cruelties some account has just been given,) on one occasion, hesitated to obey the commands of the Senate, one of the ambassadors drew a circle round him with a rod on the floor, and told him, "that he should not leave the spot, till he had received and promised to fulfil the orders of the Roman government."

After the successful termination of this Syrian war, one of the tribunes brought an accusation against Scipio Africanus, of embezzling the public money, and taking bribes of Antiochus. This great man, though incapable of such a crime, had rendered himself obnoxious to the people by manifesting a contemptuous disregard for their rights. Scipio appeared, and said, "In this book," taking it from his bosom, "is contained an exact account of the expenses of the Republic, and the spoils of the enemy." "Read it then," replied the tribune, "and let us be satisfied." "That I will never do; Scipio will never defend himself, before the Roman people, from so base and inglorious a charge." He immediately tore the book to pieces.

Scipio, on this occasion, forgot the relation in which he stood to the Roman people. Every man, who accepts any

office from the State, should consider himself as its servant, and bound to render up a strict account of the manner in which he has performed the duties of his trust. The honors and emoluments which he receives are an adequate remuneration for his services. A degree of self-respect, a dignified behavior, are highly laudable, but no servant of the people has a right to plume himself on his merits, to wrap himself in his own conscious integrity, and refuse to plead at the tribunal of public opinion.

Another day was appointed for hearing the charge of the justly offended tribune. The imaginary crimes of Scipio were set forth with every circumstance calculated to excite the indignation of the Plebeians. He came, attended with a numerous train of dependants and friends, to the rostrum, and silence being obtained, he said, "Tribunes of the people, and you Romans: to-day is the anniversary on which I fought a pitched battle, in Africa, with Hannibal and the Carthaginians, and defeated our enemies. As, therefore, it is but decent that a stop be put for this day, to litigation and wrangling, I will immediately go to the Capitol, there to return my acknowledgments to Jupiter supremely good and great, to Juno, Minerva, and the other deities presiding over the Capitol and the Citadel, and will give them thanks, for having, on this day, and at many other times, endowed me both with the will and ability to perform extraordinary services to the Commonwealth. Such of you, also, Romans, as can conveniently, come with me, and beseech the gods that you may have commanders like myself; since, from my seventeenth year to old age, you have always anticipated my years with honors, and I, your honors, with services." Accordingly, he went up from the rostrum to the Capitol; and the whole assembly followed him; insomuch that at last even the clerks and messengers left the tribunes, not one remaining except the slaves who attended them, and the crier, whose office it was to summon those who were under prosecution. This was certainly an extraordinary speech for a man summoned before the public to vindicate himself from a charge of embezzlement, and it manifests a degree of Patrician pride and arrogance, which no services to the State, however eminent, could justify. A man of his imperious character, splendid talents, and soaring ambition, is a dangerous member of a Republic, and will seldom neglect to improve any opportunity to encroach on the liberties of his country. The people are naturally jealous of their rights, and they view with just suspicion the conduct of



their most eminent servants, who manifest, by their demeanor, or opinions, an aversion from civil liberty and republican equality. But the people are not ungrateful. Passion and prejudice may, for a moment, lead them to carry feelings of resentment beyond what their cool judgment approves, yet, the history of the world certifies, that, notwithstanding the common charge of republican ingratitude, circulated by the subjects of lords and kings, the people have, in general, by an excess of confidence and gratitude, yielded themselves up in subjection to the objects of their blind admiration. On this occasion, their deep sense of Scipio's services, recounted with so much Patrician superciliousness, and contemptuous disregard of the majesty of the law, overcame every other feeling, and hurried them on generously to share in his proud and ostentatious gratitude to the gods of his country. But they could not, in their calmer hours, forget the insult which he had offered them, in turning to his own triumph the accusation of their tribunes, and in destroying the record which they had a right to examine. This was the last day that shone with lustre on Scipio Africanus. He was again cited to answer to the same accusations. "But his natural temper and spirit," says Livy, "were so lofty, that he would not submit to act the part of an accused person, or stoop to the humble deportment of such a state. He withdrew from the city, and passed the remainder of his life at Liternum, without a wish to revisit Rome; and it is said, that when he was dying, he ordered his body to be buried at his country-seat, and his monument to be erected there, that even his funeral should not be performed in his ungrateful country. He was a man of eminent merit, but that merit was more conspicuous in affairs of war, than those of peace."

## CHAPTER XV.

**T. Q. FLAMINIUS, LUCIUS MUMMIUS, AND CATO THE CENSOR.  
MACEDON, CORINTH, AND CARTHAGE.**

**B. C. 198.—B. C. 145.** The successful issue of the second Punic war had greatly increased the extent of the Roman empire. The Romans now made rapid progress in their conquests, always artfully procuring assistance from the States contiguous to those with which they were at war. The defeat of Antiochus, mentioned in the last chapter, took place after the reduction of Macedon; it was introduced out of the regular chronological order, because it forms a part of the transactions of the life of Scipio.

It is not necessary to enter into the causes of the war with Philip of Macedon, who was the son of Demetrius, great grandson of Antigonus, one of the captains of Alexander the Great. Rome perceived that Macedon and the different States of Greece, at variance with one another, would not only be richer prizes, but of easier acquisition than the Western nations. Determined upon extending her dominions, it was easy to find a pretext for war. After various successful encounters with Philip, Flaminius was sent over to Macedon, and in his expedition he met with extraordinary success. The Greeks gradually became his firm supporters, and he totally defeated Philip on the confines of Epirus, and made all Locris, Phocis, and Thessaly tributary to the Roman power. He granted peace to the conquered monarch, on terms, however, subversive of his independence. It was stipulated in the articles of peace, drawn up by the Senate, that he must evacuate all the Greek cities in which he had garrisons: deliver up all his ships, that have decks, except five; never have above 5,000 men in pay; never make use of elephants in his armies, nor wage war out of Macedon, without the consent of the Romans, and that he must pay the Republic 1,000 talents. It was also ordered, that all the cities of the Greeks, both in Europe and Asia, should be restored to perfect liberty, and be governed

only by their own laws. For the performance of these hard conditions, hostages were received, and, in the number was the king's own son.

"The stated solemnity of the Isthmian games (says Livy) was at hand. These have ever been attended by very numerous meetings, for two reasons: first, in consequence of the universal fondness of the Corinthians for shows, wherein are seen trials of skill in arts of every kind, besides contests in strength and swiftness of foot; and secondly, because people can go thither from every quarter of Greece by means of the two opposite seas. But on this occasion, all were led, by an eager curiosity, to learn what was thenceforward to be the state of Greece, and what their own condition; while many, at the same time, formed opinions within themselves, but uttered their conjectures in conversation. The Romans took their seats, as spectators; and a herald, preceded by a trumpeter, according to custom, advanced into the centre of the theatre, where notice of the commencement of the games is usually given, in a set form of words. Silence being commanded by the sound of a trumpet, he uttered aloud the following proclamation: 'The Senate and People of Rome, and Titus Quintus, their general, having subdued Philip and the Macedonians, do hereby order that the following States be free, independent, and ruled by their own laws; the Corinthians, Phocians, and all the Locrians; the island of Eubæa and the Magnesians; the Thessalians, Perhæbians, and the Achæans of Phthiotis.' He then read a list of all the States which had been under subjection to king Philip. The joy occasioned by hearing these words of the herald was so great, that the people's minds were unable to conceive the matter at once. Scarcely could they believe that they had heard them; and they looked at each other with amazement, as if all were the illusion of a dream. Each inquired of others about what immediately concerned himself. Every one being desirous, not only of hearing, but of seeing, the messenger of liberty, the herald was called out again, and he again repeated the proclamation. When they were thus assured of the reality of the joyful tidings, they raised such a shout, and clapping of hands, and repeated them so often, as clearly demonstrated, that of all earthly blessings none is more grateful to the people than liberty. The games were then hurried through; for neither the thoughts nor the eyes of any attended to the exhibitions, so entirely had the single passion of joy pre-occupied their minds, as to exclude the sense of all other pleasures.

"But when the games were finished, every one eagerly pressed towards the Roman general; so that by the crowd rushing to one spot, all wishing to come near him, and to touch his right hand, and throwing garlands and ribbons, he was in some degree of danger. He was then about thirty-three years of age; he had all the vigor of youth, but the grateful sensations, excited by acknowledgments so eminently glorious to him, increased his strength. Nor did the general exultation last only for that day; but, through the space of many days, was continually revived by sentiments and expressions of gratitude. There was a nation in the world, they said, which, at its own expense, with its own labor, and at its own risk, waged wars for the liberty of others. And this it performed, not merely for contiguous states, or near neighbors, or for countries that made part of the same continent; but even crossed the seas for the purpose, that no unlawful power should subsist on the face of the whole earth; but that justice, right, and law, should every where have sovereign sway. By one sentence, pronounced by a herald, all the cities of Greece and Asia, had been set at liberty. To have conceived hopes of this, argued a daring spirit; to have carried it into effect, was a proof of the most consummate bravery and good fortune."

It is impossible to read this account, and not sympathize with the feelings of this once glorious people. A more animating spectacle can scarcely be imagined. The Roman people had now a rare opportunity of reaping everlasting garlands of true glory, of achieving triumphs worthy of being chronicled on monuments more durable than brass. And had Flaminius been sincere in his professions, he would not only "have increased his strength," but all his intellectual and moral powers would have expanded, and his soul experienced sensations of exquisite and enviable delight. But alas! all was false and hollow. The Romans boasted that they came to improve their state, to free them from the yoke of bondage, when, in reality, they fought for power, for plunder, and extended rule. They offered them their protection, but it was such protection as vultures give to lambs—covering and devouring them. Wherever they paused in amity, affliction mourned their friendship.

Had Rome, observes Hooke, seized upon Greece at this time, it is probable she could not have held it long. The Greeks, always jealous of their liberty, would have been easily stirred up to revolt by Philip; and a dangerous combination might

soon have been formed against the Republic, by Greece and Macedon, in which the king of Syria, and several Asiatic provinces, would in all likelihood have joined, to put a stop to the encroachments of Rome.

Fifty years after this splendid exhibition, the Greeks bitterly experienced how much they had been deceived by the plausible professions of the Romans. In the pursuit of their boundless ambition, the Italians made no distinction between ancient friends and ancient enemies, states from which they had received the most important services, and those by which they had suffered the most terrible calamities. The Achæans, who had, contrary to the orders of the Romans, taken up arms against the Lacedemonians, and vanquished them, were attacked and defeated by the Roman general Metellus, and the consul Mummius soon ended the war. He advanced to Corinth, and found the gates open. All who had fled thither from the field of battle, and most of the citizens, had quitted the city in the night. All the men found in the city were massacred, and the women and children sold into slavery. Having plundered the city of its statues, paintings, and most valuable effects, he set fire to it, and reduced it to a heap of ashes. The walls were afterwards demolished, and the lands of the Corinthians given to the Sicyonians: such was the decree of the Senate. Mummius afterwards seized those of the Corinthians, who had fled out of the city, and sold them all for slaves.

Thebes and Chalcis were both razed to the ground by the consul, who also disarmed the inhabitants, and demolished the walls of the other towns, that had taken part with the Achæans in this war. Commissioners from Rome arrived, and abolished, in all the cities of Greece, the popular government, and placed over them magistrates, in their interest, chosen from among the richest of the citizens. They likewise suppressed all national assemblies. Greece became now a Roman province, under the name of Achaia, and a prætor was annually sent to govern it.

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GREECE, which so tamely submitted to the Roman yoke, had, a little more than three centuries before driven back with ignominy two millions of Persian invaders. Marathon, Thermopylæ, Salamis, Platea, Mycale, are renowned and consecrated by the ever memorable achievements of the sons of liberty, under the wise and intrepid conduct of Miltiades, Leonidas, Themistocles, Aristides, and Xantippus. But,

at length, the violence and rage of party disputes, the lust of power, and an engrossing regard to private interest, almost extinguished every patriotic feeling and noble sentiment. Having defeated their common enemy, the different states of Greece fought against each other, for the ascendancy, with murderous rapine and seditious strife; and, thus, at the period of the ambitious projects of Philip, and his son, Alexander, they were so much weakened by the losses which they had sustained in their unnatural conflicts, and by the factious spirit of rival parties in their respective states, that they could not resist the progress of the Macedonian phalanx. The fervid and patriotic eloquence of Demosthenes was unavailing, and the battle of Cheronæa was the final period of the liberties of Greece.

Greece is included between the thirty-sixth and forty-first degrees of northern latitude, and is surrounded by seas, except where it borders upon EPIRUS and MACEDONIA. These two provinces were inhabited by a people who participated of the same origin as the Greeks, were of similar manners, and similar religion, and spoke a dialect of the same language, but there were various circumstances, that tended to hold the more southern Greeks, though divided under numerous governments, still united as one people, to the exclusion of the Epirots and Macedonians. Of what was universally allowed to be Greece, Thessaly was the most northern province. Macedonia, peopled by the same Pelasgian race, which principally gave origin to the Greeks, and brought afterwards under the dominion of a Grecian colony, claimed always to be a part of Greece. The innumerable clans who shared that extensive continent, being in a state of perpetual warfare among one another, the situation of the Macedonians when the Argive adventurers arrived among them, might be such as to make them glad to associate strangers, whose skill in arms and general knowledge was superior to their own. While civil and military pre-eminence was therefore yielded to the new comers, and royalty became established in the family of their chief, the name of the ancient inhabitants, as the more numerous, remained. In the course of six or seven reigns, the Macedonians extended their dominion over the neighboring provinces of Pieria, Bottiæa, Mygdonia, part of Pæonia, Eordia, Almopia, Anthemous, Grestonia, and Bisaltia; all, together with Emathia or Macedon proper, forming what acquired the name of Lower Macedonia, which extended from Mount Olympus to the river Strymon.

While wars, almost unceasing, with savage neighbors, and frequent rebellions of conquered subjects, prevented the progress of civilization among the Macedonians, the weakness of the prince, and the wants of the people, concurred to encourage Grecian establishments on the coast. But in so little estimation was Macedonia held by the Greeks at the time of the Persian wars, that when Alexander, son of Amyntas, offered himself as a competitor for the prize of the stadium at the Olympic games, it was objected to him that he was a barbarian. But his claims were on examination admitted. Caranus, an Argive, was the first who established any permanent sovereignty in Macedon. B. C. 800. After various revolutions, the extensive empire of the Persians, (founded by Cyrus, who destroyed the Babylonian kingdom B. C. 550,) which had spread over all the western part of Asia, comprehended Macedonia. Persia threatened all the eastern parts of Europe with subjection. During the Persian invasion of Greece, Macedonia furnished Xerxes and Darius with 200,000 recruits, a circumstance which greatly enhances the heroic bravery of the small, but fearless band of Grecian patriots, whose marvellous exploits have imprinted on the friends of liberty, in all succeeding ages, the ennobling conviction, that union and perseverance may withstand innumerable hosts of mercenary troops. It was this firm persuasion (we may believe) that animated the soul of the immortal Washington—great in his triumphs, and still greater in his reverses; who showed the grandeur of his mind, when repulsed; who arrayed himself in fresh honors after every defeat; who could not only subdue an enemy, but, what is infinitely more, could subdue misfortune; who, in the face of hostile prowess, in the midst of mutiny and treason, surrounded with astonishment, irresolution, and dependence, remained erect, unmoved, invincible. Americans! the God who raised up Washington, and gave you liberty, exacts from you the duty of cherishing it with a zeal according to knowledge. Never sully, by apathy or outrage, your fair inheritance. Risk not for one moment, on visionary theories, the solid blessings of your lot. To you, particularly, O, youth of America, applies the solemn charge. In all the perils of your country, remember Washington. The freedom of reason and of right, has been handed down to you on the point of the hero's sword. Guard, with veneration, the sacred deposit. The curse of ages will rest upon you, O, youth of America, if ever you surrender, to foreign ambition, or domestic lawlessness, the precious liberties for which Washington and your fathers bled.

After the hasty retreat of the Persians, Macedon became a prey to civil dissensions. At length, Philip (who had been carried off as a hostage by the great Pelopidas, and who probably attended the equally renowned Epaminondas in his expeditions) ascended the Macedonian throne, and soon convinced the Greeks, that he had well availed himself of the advantages which he had possessed under the conduct of these two celebrated generals. He took from the Athenians their colonies bordering on his territories, and left to his son Alexander to complete the conquest of the whole of Greece, which he had nearly subdued by his policy and his arms. Alexander, the pupil of Aristotle, (the most celebrated philosopher of the age,) having conquered Thrace and Illyricum, totally defeated the Thebans and Athenians, and laid Thebes in ruins. He was chosen chief commander of all the forces of Greece. He crossed the Hellespont, defeated the Persians at the river Granicus, and again at Issus, overran Syria, destroyed Tyre, marched to Jerusalem, (and according to Josephus granted particular privileges to the Jews,) subdued Egypt, and founded the city of Alexandria; advanced into Lybia to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon; crossed the Euphrates, and the Tigris, where, having gained a complete victory over Darius, he took Babylon, and thus destroyed the Persian empire, which had lasted, from its first establishment under Cyrus the Great, 206 years. During his residence at Babylon, he abandoned himself to intemperance, assumed the manners and dress of the Persians, put to death several of his best friends, Parmenio, Clitus, and Callisthenes, and ordered divine honors to be paid to him as a god. Satiated with luxurious indulgence, he pursued his conquests, defeated an army of the Scythians, conquered Porus, a powerful Indian king, and advanced as far as the Hyphesus, subduing many nations in his progress. His soldiers refusing to follow him as far as the Ganges, he returned to Babylon, where his intemperance threw him into a fever, of which he died in the thirty-third year of his age, and twelfth of his reign. B. C. 324.

After his death the empire was divided into thirty-three governments, which were distributed among the different commanders, each of whom resolved to make himself absolute; while Perdiccas (to whom Alexander in his last moments had given his ring, was made regent) proposed to subdue them all one after another. They soon engaged in fierce and bloody wars, in which acts of the most horrid perfidy and cruelty were committed. The whole family of Alexander were at



different times sacrificed to the ambition of his generals, and few of themselves died a natural death. Such were the effects of the unjust conquests of Alexander.

Cassander, appointed general of the horse, having destroyed the royal family, became king of Macedon. After his death, a constant succession of revolutionary movements distracted the kingdom, till the time of Philip, who was conquered by the Romans.

THESSALY is the most northern province of the country universally known by the name of Greece. It is an extensive vale, of uncommon fertility, completely surrounded by very lofty mountains. On the north, Olympus, beginning at the eastern coast, divides it from Macedonia. Contiguous ridges extend to the Ceraunian mountains, which form the northern boundary of Epírus, and terminate against the western sea, in a promontory called Acroceraunus, famed for its height and storms. Pindus forms the western boundary of Thessaly, and Cæta, the southern. Between the foot of mount Cæta and the sea, is the famous pass of Thermopylæ, the only way, on the eastern side of the country, by which the southern provinces can be entered. The lofty, though generally narrow ridge of Pélion, forming the coast, spreads in branches to Cæta, and is connected by Ossa with Olympus. The tract extending from Epírus and Thessaly to the Corinthian isthmus, and the gulfs on each side of it, contains the provinces of Acarnania, Ætolia, Doris, Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, and Attica. Many branches from the vast ridges of Pindus and Cæta spread themselves through this country. Ætolia is every where defended by mountains, with difficulty passable; excepting that the sea bounds it on the south, and the river Achelôus divides a small part of its western frontier from Acarnania. Doris is almost wholly mountainous. The ridge of Parnassus effectually separated the eastern and western Locrians. Phocis had one highly fruitful plain, but of small extent. Bœotia consists principally of a rich vale with many streams and lakes; bounded on the north-east by the Opuntian gulf, touching southward on the Corinthian, and otherwise mostly surrounded by the mountains Parnassus, Helicon, Cithæron, and Parnes. The two latter formed the northern boundary of Attica; a rocky, barren province, little fruitful in corn and less in pasture, but producing many fruits, particularly olives and figs, in abundance and perfection.

Southward of this tract lies the peninsula of Peloponesus, not to be approached by land except across the Bœotian or Attic

mountains, which on each side of the isthmus, rise precipitous from the sea, and shoot into the isthmus itself. The peninsula, according to the division of Strabo, contains Achaia, Argolis, Elis or Elia, Arcadia, Messénia, and Laconia. Arcádia, the central province, is a cluster of mountains, bearing, however, as on their shoulders, some plains, high above the level of the sea. Lofty ridges, the principal of which are the Taygétus and Zarex, branch through Lacónia, to the two most southern promontories of Greece, Tænarum, and Maléa. Between these the Eurótas runs; the vales are rich, but no where extensive. From Cylléne, the most northern and highest of the Arcadian mountains, two other branches extend in a south-easterly direction; one to the Argolic gulf, the other, by Epidaurus, to the Scyllæan promontory, the most easterly point of the peninsula. They include the vale of Argos, remarkable for fruitfulness. Achaia is a narrow strip of country on the northern coast, pressed upon by the mountains in its whole length from Corinth to Dyme. It must be observed, that the Corinthian territory, and the Sicyonian, were distinct from that properly called Achaia, and, till a late period, were included under the name. Elis and Messenia are less mountainous than the other Peloponesian provinces. The latter particularly is not only the most level of the peninsula, and the best adapted to tillage, but, in general produce, the most fruitful of all Greece.

This country, so singularly illustrious in the annals of mankind, is scarcely half so large as England, and not equal to a fourth of France or Spain. But it has natural peculiarities which influenced not a little, both the manners and the political institutions of the inhabitants.

Like Italy, or more than Italy, in large proportion a rough and intractable country, Greece nevertheless enjoyed many great and peculiar advantages. The climate is very various. The summer heat generally great: the winter cold, in some parts severe: but the former brings the finest fruits to perfection; the latter braces and hardens the bodies of the inhabitants, while the sea, no where very distant, assists extensively to temper both. The long winding range of coast abounds with excellent harbors. The low ground affords rich herbage; the higher, corn, wine, and oil; and the mountains, all producing pasture, some to a great extent, were covered with a variety of timber; some formed of the finest marble; some contained various valuable metals. And this variety in the surface,

which gives occasion to such various produce, affords at the same time variety of climate in every season of the year.

“ Where’er we tread, ’tis haunted, holy ground,  
No earth of thine is lost in vulgar mould ;  
But one vast realm of wonder spreads around,  
And all the Muse’s tales seem truly told,  
Till the sense aches with gazing to behold  
The scenes our earliest dreams have dwelt upon :  
Each hill and dale, each deepening glen and wold,  
Defies the power which crush’d thy temples gone,  
Age shakes Athena’s tower, but spares gray Marathon.”

The different Grecian States, at a very early period, formed a Council, called, probably, from the name of its author, the Amphictyonic, at which deputies assembled to consult on the common interests of their constituents. Their ordinary place of meeting was a temple, dedicated to the goddess Ceres, near the mouth of the river Asôpus, and the pass of Thermopylæ. The superintendence of the religion of the Greek nation was more particularly its office. The view of the founders seems to have gone farther ; to bring all disputes between Amphictyonic states before this tribunal, and to unite them in confederacy against the attacks of any foreign enemy. Contests between states were deemed proper objects of its jurisdiction ; but, the Amphictyonic council, amid the jealous claims of every Grecian city to absolute independence, was never able to preserve peace. Its proceedings were conducted with prudence and dignity.

The Games of Greece are particularly celebrated by all its poets and historians. There were four consecrated by religion ; the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian, and Neméan. Of these the Olympic were the chief. The contests at all of them were much the same ; viz : running, leaping, wrestling, boxing, and throwing the discus, a kind of round quoit of stone, lead, or other metal, launched from a thong through a hole in the middle of it. The place where these contests were exhibited was called the Stadium. The prize was made of small value, that the combatants might be animated by the love of glory, and not of sordid gain.

The most celebrated Court of Greece was the Areopagus. This seat of justice was on a small eminence near Athens. The name, which signifies the hill of Mars, was given to it because all murders were under the cognizance of this court, or because Mars was the first who was tried there. It was,

probably, instituted by Cecrops, B. C. 1556, and its power was enlarged by Solon. B. C. 559. Pericles lessened its authority, from which time (B. C. 420) the morals of the Athenians degenerated, and the Areopagites (whose number is not known) lost their high character for justice and virtue. These judges decided on all cases of murder, arson, and treason. They also took cognizance of religious matters—blasphemy, contempt of the mysteries, the erection and consecration of temples and altars, and the introduction of new ceremonies. They had the inspection and custody of the laws, the management of the public fund, the guardianship of young men, and the superintendence of their education. They had power to reward the meritorious, and punish the impious and immoral. Justly deeming idleness the cause of all vice, they did not suffer it to go unpunished. They sat in the open air, and heard causes, and passed sentence in the night, that they might not be pre-possessed in favor of the plaintiff or defendant by seeing him. Whatever causes were pleaded before them, were divested of all oratory and fine speaking, lest eloquence should charm their ears, and corrupt their judgment. Hence arose the most just and impartial decisions, and their sentence was deemed sacred and inviolable.—In a court of justice the arts of oratory are surely unbecoming. Is it there, that men should strive “to make the worse appear the better reason, to perplex and dash maturest counsels?”

The Gymnasia were large edifices, consisting of various parts, fit to contain many thousands of people at once, with proper places for the youth to perform their different exercises; and apartments for philosophers, rhetoricians, and all the professors of the liberal arts, to deliver their lectures, surrounded with a garden and sacred grove. The chief Gymnasia in and near Athens were, the Academia, Lyceum, and Cynosarges.

The Academia was named from a person called Académus. It contained a gymnasium, a garden, and a grove, surrounded with walls, and adorned with delightful covered walks. It lay near the rivers Cephissus and Colónos. Near this Plato had his residence, on a farm belonging to himself. In the academy he taught his scholars, whence his followers were called Academics.

The Lyceum lay on the opposite side of the city, along the banks of the Ilissus. Here was a temple of Apollo. Aristotle, the scholar of Plato, after his return to Athens from the tuition of Alexander, chose the Lyceum as the place for his school;

and because he taught those who attended him walking, he was called the Peripatetic. Aristotle was succeeded by his scholar, Theophrastus.

The Cynosarges lay a little north of the Lyceum, on a rising ground, containing a gymnasium, a temple of Hercules, and a sacred grove. It is said to have been named from a dog which snatched away part of the sacrifice offered to Hercules. In this gymnasium foreigners, or citizens who had a foreigner for their mother, performed their exercises. Here Antisthenes, the philosopher, taught his opinions, and hence according to some, he was called the Cynic, or according to others, he obtained the name from his snarling humor. And from him philosophers, distinguished by their rusticity and rudeness of manners, are called Cynics. Antisthenes went every day to Athens to hear the lectures of Socrates, who said to him, "Through your rags, I see your vanity." Diogenes succeeded Antisthenes. He wore a coarse cloak, carried a wallet and a staff, made the porticos and other public places his habitation, and depended upon casual contributions for subsistence. Being disappointed of procuring a cell, he took up his abode in a tub. When Alexander the Great asked him if there was any service he could render him; "Yes," said Diogenes, "not to stand between me and the sun." The most distinguished philosopher of this sect after Diogenes, was Crates, whose scholar was Zeno, the founder of the Stoics. The moral doctrines of these two sects were nearly the same. The sect more directly opposed to the Stoics was that of the Epicureans, who had their name and origin from Epicurus. He taught that the happiness of mankind consisted in pleasure, not such, however, as arises from sensual gratifications, or from any kind of vice, but from the enjoyments of the mind, and the sweets of virtue. But his followers soon misrepresented and abused his principles, and Epicurism became a name for intemperance. When Cineas spoke of the tenets of the Epicureans in the Roman Senate, Fabricius prayed that all the enemies of Rome might become his followers. But not only many of the enemies of Rome, but the Romans themselves generally embraced the corrupted principles of the great and virtuous Athenian philosopher, and the conquerors of the world, enervated by pleasure, were subdued by the hardy barbarians of the North.

The most celebrated legislators of Greece were Lycurgus, of Sparta or Lacedæmon, Draco and Solon, of Athens. Lycurgus (B. C. 926) copied his laws chiefly from those of Minos in

Crete. The form of government under two kings was allowed to continue, but their authority was restricted by a Senate of twenty-eight members, nominated for life by the people, and by five Ephori created annually. He instituted an equal division of land, abolished the use of gold and silver, and ordained that all should eat in public. His chief attention was directed to the education of youth. At seven years of age they were taken from their parents; and entrusted to the charge of elderly men of the first rank in the city, who, by a rigid discipline, trained them up to obedience, to love their country, *to respect the aged*, to bear hardships, and to scorn danger. The Spartans were a nation of soldiers. Their chief employment was hunting and bodily exercise. The ground was cultivated by the Helótæ. The Helots were different from domestic slaves, of which there is said to have been a greater number, than in any other city of Greece. The Helots occupied a middle state between slaves and free citizens. Being the property of the public, they could not be sold, nor made free, but by public authority. They not only cultivated the ground, but served in the fleet and in the army. In the ranks every armed soldier was accompanied by one or more, sometimes by seven of them. They were often treated with the greatest injustice and cruelty. Freedom having been publicly promised to such as had distinguished themselves most in the Peloponesian war, 2,000 claimed the proffered reward; and the justness of their pretensions being admitted, they were led in solemn procession round the temples with chaplets of flowers on their heads. All these suddenly disappeared; and it is said that their masters were charged to put them to death privately at their houses. The Spartans affixed no criminality to so atrocious an act of ingratitude, treachery, and cruelty. The institutions of Lycurgus are said to have continued in force 700 years.

The Athenians, agitated by discord under their Archons, and seeing the good effects of the institutions of Lycurgus, pitched upon Draco (B. C. 623) to draw up a system of laws for them. Their excessive severity caused these to be abolished. Solon (B. C. 559) was their next legislator, and his laws continued in force while Athens remained a free State. The chief power was lodged in the hands of the people.

Solon was one of the seven wise men of Greece. The other six were Thales of Milétus, Bias of Priene, Chilo of Sparta, Pittacus of Myteléne, Cleobúlus of Rhodes, and Periander of Corinth. Contemporary with these great men were, Æsop,

the author of fables, and Anacharsis, the Scythian philosopher, and the poets, Simonides of Ceos, Orpheus of Croton, Sappho and Alcæus of Lesbos; and somewhat later, Anacreon, Pythagoras, and Thespis. About the year B. C. 470, flourished Herodotus the historian, the poets Pindar and Æschylus, and the philosophers Anaxagoras, Empedocles, and Democritus.

Socrates, the greatest of all the heathen philosophers, died about 400 B. C. His exemplary virtue, his superior talents, and the attachment of his pupils, excited the hatred of the Sophists, or pretenders to science. They first employed Aristophanes, the writer of comedies, to expose his character to ridicule on the stage. They brought him to a formal trial, and charged him with corrupting the youth, and introducing new deities. Socrates made a noble defence, but the faction of his enemies prevailed, and he was sentenced to drink hemlock, the usual mode of putting condemned criminals to death at Athens. During his imprisonment, which lasted thirty days, he behaved with extraordinary tranquillity of mind, and edified his friends, who came to visit him, with lectures on philosophy. He refused to avail himself of the opportunity to make his escape, from a regard to the laws of his country. He drank off the fatal cup without emotion. It was not till some time after the death of this truly great man, that the Athenians became sensible of their error. Then, they were penetrated with shame and remorse for their injustice.

“ Slow sinks, more lovely ere his race be run,  
Along Morea’s hills the setting sun;  
Descending fast the mountain shadows kiss  
Thy glorious gulf, unconquer’d Salamis,  
Till, darkly shaded from the land and deep,  
Behind his Delphian cliff he sinks to sleep.  
On such an eve his palest beams he cast  
When—Athens! here thy wisest looked his last.  
How watch’d thy better sons his farewell ray,  
That closed their murdered sages’ latest day!  
Not yet—not yet—Sol pauses on the hill—  
The precious hour of parting lingers still;  
But sad his light to agonizing eyes,  
And dark the mountain’s once delightful dyes.  
Gloom o’er the lovely land he seem’d to pour,  
The land where Phœbus never frown’d before;  
But ere he sank below Cithæron’s head,  
The cup of woe was quaff’d—the spirit fled;  
The soul of him who scorn’d to fear or fly,  
Who lived and died as few do live or die.”

The most celebrated scholars of Socrates were Plato and Xenophon; and contemporary with Socrates were the tragic poets, Sophocles and Euripides, Lysias the orator; Phidias and Scopas, architects and statuary.

*Thebes*, the capital of Bœotia, built by Cadmus, the Phœnician, who first introduced letters into Greece, (1495 B. C.) was surrounded with walls forty-three stadia (or rather more than five miles) in circumference, and had seven gates. The government was for three centuries monarchical, but it became a republic about 1190 B. C. There were frequent contests between the favorers of oligarchy and democracy. The Thebans were looked upon as an indolent and sluggish nation; there were, however, several great men born in the state of Bœotia. It was the native place of Bacchus and Hercules, of mythological celebrity; and also of Pindar the poet, and the generals Pelopidas and Epaminondas. To the honor of Thebes it must be mentioned, that the exposing of children, usual in other parts of Greece, was prohibited by its laws; but, to its disgrace, it basely joined the Persians, when they invaded Greece. For this, the Thebans were severely punished by Pausanias. Afterwards, being jealous of the Athenians, and fearing their resentment, they formed an alliance with the Spartans, to whom they were of great assistance during the Peloponesian war, which lasted twenty-seven years, and at the termination of which the glory of Athens fell. The Lacedæmonians, after their successful conclusion of this unnatural strife for pre-eminence, (which is related by Thucydides,) finding a favorable opportunity, reduced Thebes under their dominion, and established their form of government. But the valor and conduct of two men, Pelopidas and Epaminondas, restored its liberty, and it became for a short time the most powerful city in Greece. It was destroyed by Alexander the Great, and twenty years after rebuilt by Cassander.

*CORINTH*, founded in a very early age in the neighborhood of Sicyon, perhaps prevented the growth of the elder town. Near the south-western point of the neck that joins Peloponesus to northern Greece, and within the same rich plain in which Sicyon stood, a mountain ridge, scarcely three miles long, rises to a height, remarkable even in a country of lofty mountains. The summit is at the northern extremity: three sides are precipices almost perpendicular; and, even on the fourth, ascent is difficult. A little beneath the pointed vertex is a plentiful source of pure water; which, so situated, might help the poets to the fancy, that there the winged horse, Pegasus, drinking,



was caught by Bellerophon. This most advantageous, and nearly impregnable post, by the name of Acrocorinthus, became the citadel; and at its foot grew the town of Corinth, which, as early as Homer's time, was noted for wealth acquired by commerce. For by land it was the key of communication between northern and southern Greece: and by sea it became, through its ports, one on the Saronic, the other on the Corinthian gulf, the emporium for all that passed between the east and the west, as far as Asia on the one side, and Italy and Sicily on the other; the passage round the southern promontories of Peloponesus being so dangerous, to coasting navigators, that it was generally avoided. Among the early princes of Corinth were Sisyphus, Glaucus, and Bellerophon, names to which poetry has given fame, but which are not delivered down to us as objects of history.

Corinth became, at an early period, an important commercial city. A limited monarchy was its first form of government, and this continued for three or four centuries. At length, an oligarchy was established. An annual magistrate presided, with the title of Prytanis. Though oligarchies were generally odious and tyrannical, yet Corinth seems to have flourished under its various political institutions. After the aristocracy had existed for several generations, a monarchy was restored for a short time. The second king, Periander, is ranked among the seven sages of Greece. He is famed for his learning, abilities, and encouragement of literature. After the death of his son, a commonwealth was established, and Corinth is said to have had the happiest, though not the most renowned, government of Greece. The local circumstances of the city appear to have influenced the disposition of the people; directing it to commerce and arts more than to politics, arms, or science, although in these they acquired not a little celebrity.

Corinth was adorned with the most sumptuous buildings, as temples, palaces, theatres, porticos, and all enriched with beautiful columns of a flowery style of architecture, called the Corinthian order. Though the Corinthians seldom or never engaged in war with a view of enlarging their little State, they did not neglect military discipline, and they were prepared to protect the riches which they acquired in great abundance in their commercial transactions. When this splendid city was taken by Mummius, it was the strongest place in Greece. The inhabitants, however, were so much disheartened by the defeat which they had lately sustained, that they did not even shut their gates against the enemy. The spoils of the city

exceeded all the avaricious expectations of the Roman soldiers. Innumerable vessels of the most precious materials, and of the finest work, many of the choicest productions of the pencil and the chisel, and an immense quantity of silver and gold, became the booty of these ruthless plunderers, who, though they had eyes to see the value of the precious metals, were utterly incapable of discerning the exquisite beauty of the fine statues and pictures, which adorned the temples and the palaces. Many of these inestimable pieces of the most famous painters and sculptors, were wantonly mutilated and defaced, and others were ignorantly sold for a small sum of money. Polybius, the historian, had the mortification to see some of the Roman soldiers playing at dice upon a picture of Bacchus, by Aristides, a chef d'œuvre, accounted one of the wonders of the world. The soldiers willingly exchanged it for a table more convenient for their game. When the spoils of Corinth were put up for sale, Attalus, king of Pergamus, bought this picture for 600,000 sesterces, about 1200 dollars. Mummius, beyond measure astonished, that a painting should fetch this sum, concluded that it must, of necessity, have some magical virtue, and, interposing his lawless authority, violently took it from the king, and conveyed it to Rome, and placed it in the temple of Ceres. Mummius gave another remarkable proof, that Marcellus had not been very successful in inspiring at Rome a taste for the fine arts. When the pictures and statues were put on board the transports, the destroyer of Corinth warned the masters of the vessels, that if any of these spoils were either lost or injured, they would be obliged to furnish others in their stead.

“For knowledge to his eyes her ample page,  
Rich with the spoils of Time, did ne’er unfold.”

Without some portion of taste, an essential blank is left in the circle of our most refined enjoyments; the intellectual frame of man is incomplete and mutilated. The lower animals, as far as we are able to judge, are entirely occupied with the objects of their external perceptions, and the case is nearly the same with the majority of our species. They have no conception of the beautiful and the sublime. They see nothing to excite their admiration in the most romantic scenes of nature, or the beautiful creations of genius. They have no soul to apprehend the world’s harmonious volume, and the beautiful productions of the enlightened mind of man. One of the principal effects which a liberal education produces on the mind,

is to accustom us to withdraw our attention from the gross objects of sense, and to direct it to those intellectual perceptions of external beauty, and those internal combinations, which delight the imagination.

And, in no part of our nature is the pure benevolence of Heaven more strikingly conspicuous than in our susceptibility of emotions of this class. The pleasure which they afford, is a pleasure that has no immediate connexion with the means of the preservation of our animal existence; and which shows, therefore, though all other proof were absent, that the Deity, who superadded these means of delight, must have had some other object in view, in forming us as we are, than the mere continuance of a race of beings who were to save the earth from becoming a wilderness. In consequence of these emotions, which have made all nature "beauty to our eye, and music to our ear;" it is scarcely possible for us to look around, without feeling either some happiness or some consolation. Sensual pleasures soon pall even upon the profligate, who seeks them in vain in the means accustomed to produce them; weary, almost to disgust, of the very pleasures which he seeks, and yet astonished that he does not find them. The labors of severer intellect, if long continued, exhaust the energy which they employ; and we cease, for a time, to be capable of thinking accurately, from the very intenseness and accuracy of our thought. The pleasures of taste, however, by their variety of easy delight, are safe from the languor, which attends any monotonous or severe occupation, and instead of palling on the mind, they produce in it, with the very delight which is present, a quicker sensibility to future pleasure. Enjoyment springs from enjoyment; and, if we have not some deep wretchedness within, it is scarcely possible for us, with the delightful resources which nature and art present to us, not to be happy as often as we will to be happy.

"Oh, blest of Heaven! whom not the languid songs  
Of luxury, the Siren, not the bribes  
Of sordid wealth, nor all the gaudy spoils  
Of pageant honor, can seduce to leave  
These ever blooming sweets which from the store  
Of Nature fair imagination culls  
To charm th' enlivened soul! What tho' not all  
Of mortal offspring can attain the heights  
Of envy'd life, tho' only few possess  
Patrician treasures or imperial state;  
Yet Nature's care, to all her children just,

With richer treasures, and an ampler state,  
 Endows at large whatever happy man  
 Will deign to use them. His the city's pomp,  
 The rural honors his: whate'er adorns  
 The princely dome, the column, and the arch,  
 The breathing marbles and the sculptur'd gold,  
 Beyond the proud possessor's narrow claim,  
 His tuneful breast enjoys. For him the spring  
 Distills her dews, and from the silken gem  
 Its lucid leaves unfolds; for him the hand  
 Of Autumn tinges ev'ry fertile branch  
 With blooming gold and blushes like the morn.  
 Each passing hour sheds tribute from her wings,  
 And still new beauties meet his lonely walk,  
 And loves unfelt attract him. Not a breeze  
 Flies o'er the meadow, not a cloud imbibes  
 The setting sun's effulgence, not a strain  
 From all the tenants of the warbling shade  
 Ascends, but whence his bosom can partake  
 Fresh pleasure unreprieved: nor thence partakes  
 Fresh pleasure only, for th' attentive mind  
 By this harmonious action on her pow'rs  
 Becomes herself harmonious: wont so oft  
 In outward things to meditate the charm  
 Of sacred order, soon she seeks at home  
 To find a kindred order, to exert -  
 Within herself this elegance of love,  
 This fair inspired delight: her temper'd pow'rs  
 Refine at length, and every passion wears  
 A chaster, milder, more attractive mien."

Such is that universal possession of nature which the susceptibility of the emotions of taste conveys to us,—a possession, extending to an infinity of objects, which no earthly power can appropriate, and which enjoys even objects that have been so appropriated, with a possession more delightful than that which they afford, in many cases, to the listless eyes of their proud but discontented master.

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**CATO—CARTHAGE.**—Before the third Punic war, Paulus Æmilius defeated Perseus, the son of Philip, king of Macedon, led the king in triumph to Rome, and reduced his kingdom to the form of a Roman province, B. C. 168.

Marcus Portius Cato, the Censor (at whose instigation the third Punic war began, and by whose inveterate and savage

hostility Carthage was demolished) was born about 232 B. C. He was temperate, brave, and indefatigable, and frugal of the public money. There is scarcely any talent requisite, for public or private life, which he had not received from nature, or acquired by industry. He was a great soldier, an able statesman, an eloquent orator, a learned historian, and a laborious agriculturist. Yet, with all these qualities, he had great faults. His ambition being poisoned with envy, disturbed both his own peace, and that of the whole city. Though a man of incorruptible integrity, and severe frugality, he became, as he advanced in years, extremely avaricious, and amassed wealth by every means which came within the verge of the law. Harsh and rugged in his manners, he confounded luxury with the most honorable refinements of the human understanding. He was particularly earnest in his declamation against the study of Grecian literature; but in his old age, convinced of this absurd prejudice, he diligently applied himself to learn the most refined and expressive language which the art of man has invented.

Plutarch has recorded many interesting particulars of the life and conversation of this remarkable man. He considered eloquence not only useful but necessary for every man, who does not choose to live obscure and inactive; for which reason, he exercised and improved this talent in the neighboring boroughs and villages, by undertaking the causes of such as applied to him. After this exertion, he returned to his farm, and in a coarse frock, if it was winter, and almost without clothing in summer, he labored with the domestics, and afterwards sat down with them, and partook of the same fare.

He was, at last, induced to go to Rome, where he so much distinguished himself by his oratory, that he rapidly rose to preferment. He was made tribune of the soldiers, and afterwards quæstor; and having gained great reputation in these employments, he was exalted to the highest dignities. His excellence as a speaker excited a general emulation among the youth, but few were disposed to imitate him in the ancient custom of tilling the field with their own hands, in eating a dinner prepared without fire, and a spare frugal supper; few, like him, could be satisfied with a plain dress and a poor cottage, or think it more honorable not to want the superfluities of life, than to possess them. For the commonwealth now no longer retained its primitive purity and integrity, by reason of the vast extent of its dominions, which had introduced a great variety of customs and modes of living.

Instead of making use of a carriage, he walked from one town to another, attended only by one officer, who carried his robe, and a vessel for libations. But, though remarkable for the simplicity of his manners and mode of life, and accessible to all under his authority, he manifested strictly a sense of self-respect, and a dignity of deportment; and he was inexorable in whatever related to public justice, and inflexibly rigid in the execution of his orders. Faithful in the performance of all his trusts, he required the same fidelity from others. His courage, virtue, and talents made him consul and censor, and obtained a triumph. But he did not act afterwards like those whose ambition is only for fame, and not for virtue; and who, having reached the highest honors, withdrew from public business, and gave up the rest of their days to ease and pleasure. On the contrary, like those who have just entered upon business, and thirst for honor and renown, he exerted himself, as if he was beginning his race anew; his services being always ready both for his friends in particular, and for citizens in general, either at the bar, or in the field.

His conduct in this respect is worthy of all praise. In a republic, in particular, every man, however high he may have been raised, should always esteem himself bound, after the term of his great authority is expired, to fill any subordinate station to which he may be invited, and in which he believes he may serve his country. And, in the estimation of every true republican, there is in this man's condescension, real dignity of character. He is not degraded, but, in the eye of reason and of liberty, he is exalted. He dignifies the office, however low, which he fills; he gains the increasing respect of his fellow-citizens, and what is of still greater consequence, he is elevated by the approbation of his own mind, rejoicing in any opportunity to be of service to his country.

When Cato was a candidate for the censorship, the Patricians, imagining that it would be a disgrace to the nobility, if a person of obscure origin was elevated to the highest honor of the state, and dreading the austerity of Cato, put up seven competitors, and endeavored to soothe the people with the hopes of a mild censor. Without condescending to the least flattery or complaisance, he professed his resolution, should he be elected, to punish every instance of vice, loudly declared that the city wanted great reformation, and conjured the people, if they were wise, to choose not the most indulgent, but the severest physician. And to the honor of the Roman people, they elected the stern and inflexible Cato. And, though he made

many enemies by the severity of his measures, yet, such is the respect which virtue acquires, that the pedestal of his statue, erected in the temple of Health, records not his victories or his triumph, but mentions, to his honor, "that when the Roman commonwealth was degenerating into licentiousness, he, by his good discipline, and wise institutions, restored it." But before this statue was erected, he used to say to those who plumed themselves on their statues, "that the Romans bore about a more glorious image of him in their hearts;" and to others, who expressed the wonder, that while persons of little note had their statues, he had none, he said, "he would much rather it should be asked, why he had not a statue, than why he had one."

As soon as the dawn of understanding appeared in his son, Cato took upon him the office of schoolmaster, though he had a slave, who was a good grammarian, and taught several other children. Cato was his son's preceptor in grammar, law, and all the customary exercises. He taught him not only how to throw a dart, to fight hand to hand, and to ride; but also to box, to endure heat or cold, and to swim the most rapid rivers. He, also, wrote histories for him with his own hand in a large character, that, without stirring out of his father's house, his son might gain a knowledge of the great actions of the ancient Romans, and of the customs of his country. He was particularly careful not to utter in his son's presence, any word that might contaminate the purity of his mind.

He regarded time as his estate, and was always intent on improving it. He never neglected his duties, merely to avoid the labor of performing them, a labor which is always punctually rewarded. Idleness can never secure tranquillity, for the hours which are not devoted to the great business of existence, will be usurped by powers that will not leave them to a man's own disposal. Remorse and vexation will seize upon him, and forbid him to enjoy what he is so desirous to appropriate. How many are there, who, in consequence of a state of mental indolence, sink into a condition approaching to that of brute matter, in which they retain the consciousness of their existence, only by an obtuse languor, and drowsy discontent.

Nor did he consider that age afforded an exemption from the service of the public, but regarded that service as his indispensable duty so long as his physical and intellectual powers lasted. He did not act like Scipio Africanus, who withdrew in haughty disgust from the service of the state, and spent the remainder of his days in retirement and inaction.

Cato esteemed that the most honorable old age which is spent in serving the commonwealth. The amusements in which he passed his leisure hours, were the writing of books, and the tilling of the ground. He always invited some of his acquaintance to partake of his supper, and spent the time in cheerful conversation, making it agreeable not only to those of his own age, but to the young. His conversation generally turned upon the affairs of great and excellent men among the Romans. No mention was made of the unworthy, for he would not allow, in his company, one word, either good or bad, to be said of such men.

Many of his sayings are worthy of being remembered, as they furnish materials for serious thought, and the regulation of our conduct. What he said of the Roman people is applicable to the mass of mankind in the present day, even to those who boast of their freedom of thought, and self-control. "The Roman people are like sheep, for these animals can scarcely be brought to stir singly, but all in a body follow their leaders. The men, whose counsels they would not take as individuals, lead them with ease in a crowd." Speaking of the re-election of the same persons to the first offices of the State, he said, "You either think these offices of little worth, or that there are few worthy of them." "I look upon a king," he said, as a creature that feeds upon human flesh; and of all the kings that have been so much cried up, I find not one to be compared with an Epaminondas, or a Maricus Curtius." "Wise men learn more from fools, than fools from wise men; for the wise avoid the error of fools, while fools do not profit by the example of the wise." When an epicure desired his friendship, he said, "He would not live with a man, whose palate had quicker sensations than his heart." "Old age has deformities enough of its own; do not add to it the deformity of vice." Being ill treated by a man, who led a dissolute life, he said, "It is upon very unequal terms that I contend with you; for you are accustomed to be spoken ill of, and can speak it with pleasure, but with me it is unusual to hear it, and disagreeable to speak it." "Rome would be great indeed, if men of birth would not yield the palm of virtue to the commonalty, and if plebeians, like himself, would contend for excellence with men of birth and quality." He used to say, "that they who beat their wives or their children, laid their sacrilegious hands on the most sacred things in the world; and that he preferred the character of a good husband, to that of a great Senator."

The greatest blot in the character of Cato was his inveterate



and barbarous hostility to the Carthaginians. Being sent to Carthage to enquire into the causes of the war between the Carthaginians and the Numidians, his envy was excited, and his animosity revived, on seeing the wonderful effects of indefatigable industry and patriotic ardor of the former enemies of Rome, who had, however, faithfully observed the hard conditions of their ungenerous conquerors. On his return to Italy, he reported, "that the defeats and other misfortunes which had happened to the Carthaginians, had made them, instead of a weaker, a more skilful and warlike enemy; that their war with the Numidians was only a prelude to future hostilities against the Romans. At the conclusion of his speech, he shook the lap of his gown, and purposely dropped some Lybian figs; and, when he found the Senators admired them for their size and beauty, he told them, "that the country where they grew was only three days' sail from Rome." After his return from Africa, he never gave his opinion to the Senate on any subject, without concluding with these words, "And my opinion is, that Carthage should be destroyed." His counsel was adopted, but he did not live to enjoy the savage satisfaction which the fulfilment of his denunciation would have imparted to his relentless mind.

A great fleet and army (B. C. 149) were, without any previous explanation, fitted out against Carthage. The Carthaginians had sustained several disastrous defeats in their Numidian war, and should rather have excited the compassion than the hostility of the Romans. Carthage, unable to withstand the enmity of Rome, despatched ambassadors to Italy, submissively offering, on the part of the Carthaginians, to surrender themselves, and all that they had, and begging to know what they should do to appease their victorious rival. The Senate haughtily answered, "that they must immediately send three hundred hostages of their noblest youth, and submit to any further orders which the consuls should impose." The hostages were sent, and met the consular army at Libybæum in Sicily, but the army proceeded and arrived at Utica, where the consuls were again waited on by fresh deputies from Carthage. These ministers of the Roman power praised the good dispositions of the Africans, and now required them, that they should deliver up without fraud or reserve, all their arms and instruments of war. This insulting requisition was complied with; and two hundred suits of armor, an innumerable quantity of spears and javelins, and two thousand catapultæ (engines for discharging arrows) were sent to the Roman camp.

They were followed by the priests and all that was most venerable in Carthage. "I cannot but commend," said the consul, "the readiness with which you obey the orders of the Senate. *There is only one thing more which I am commanded to require from you. Depart from your town. You may build yourselves another, wherever you please, provided it is at a certain distance from the sea. My commission is to demolish and raze forever the city of Carthage.*"

Nothing more treacherous, barbarous, and disgraceful was ever perpetrated. The hostages, and all the arms of the Carthaginians had been obtained on the implied condition of peace. And not until they were rendered utterly defenceless (as the Romans imagined) did their enemies make known their fell determination to annihilate the Carthaginian State. And the Romans, after these unparalleled acts of perfidy, who, in requital of the best endeavors of a brave and generous foe, treacherously practised to undo her—the Romans continued with shameless effrontery to speak of Punic faithlessness.

At the sound of the words, "We are determined to demolish Carthage," all the Carthaginians broke out into lamentable cries; they became frantic with grief, rage, and despair; they threw themselves on the ground, beating the earth with their foreheads, and tearing their clothes and even their flesh; they invoked the gods, avengers of violated faith, and in the bitterest terms reproached and reviled the Romans. The consuls calmly waited till the storm of passion was over. When the Carthaginians had expressed their first fury and indignation, they lay silent and motionless as if they had been dead. After a time, coming to themselves, and to a more perfect feeling of their distress, they, instead of angry words, expressed their emotions, in lamentations and humble entreaties. The deputies dreaded to return to Carthage, and said, "We shall be torn in pieces before we have fully delivered our message." Some of them, in their journey towards the city, stole aside, and disappeared; the rest in silence held on their way. The people, in crowds upon the walls, were looking impatiently for their return. Many ran out to meet them, and, perceiving an excessive sadness in their countenances, eagerly inquired the cause. Nobody gave them any answer. Much difficulty had the deputies, when they came to the city, to get through the press that choked up the gate, and all the way to the Senate house. Having entered the assembly, one of them reported the consul's command. The universal cry, which it instantly raised within doors, was answered by a louder and more doleful

noise from the multitude without, though they knew not yet the certainty of the evil they apprehended. The speaker continuing his discourse, to inform the Senate of the arguments that had been employed to move compassion, the Senators, through an earnest desire to know the event, became once more silent and attentive; and their stillness produced a breathless silence among the people. But when it was understood that the consuls, inexorably cruel, refused even to respite the execution of their sentence till an embassy should go to Rome, and return, the assembly again burst out into cries and lamentations; which the multitude hearing, and no longer doubting of the intolerable calamity, furiously broke into the Senate house, reviling, and insulting all those who had counselled their giving of hostages, and delivering up of their arms. The whole city became a scene of the most desperate grief, and the wildest rage; and the desolation and frantic wailings of the mothers, whose sons had been torn from them for hostages, and who ran raving about the streets, assaulting those whom they accused of robbing them of their children, produced a scene of the wildest distress, uproar, and confusion.

There were, however, some, whose reason was not bewildered by their sense of indignation and approaching suffering, that had the presence of mind to shut and secure the gates, and collect on the ramparts great heaps of stones, which might serve instead of other weapons. The slaves were enrolled in the militia, and Asdrubal, whom they had condemned, was entreated to return with his army. The temples and other spacious buildings were converted into manufactories, in which men and women worked day and night, fabricating arms. They made every day one hundred and forty bucklers, three hundred swords, five hundred javelins and lances, and a thousand darts for the catapultæ, of which they constructed as many as they could. Materials were wanting for the formation of the ropes, and the women, (the female sex have been ever found, in cases of emergency, prompt in resources, and prepared to sustain the mind in the greatest storms and dangers,) so soon as they were acquainted with the deficiency, immediately cut off their hair, and applied it to that purpose. The city of Carthage was, at this time, twenty-three miles in circumference.

The consuls attempted to scale the walls in two places, believing that, by the aid of ladders, the city would be immediately taken. To their astonishment, they found the besieged well armed, and resolute. Being twice repulsed, they made

preparations for a regular siege. A breach was made in the walls, but the Romans were bravely driven back with great loss. The Carthaginians made fire-ships of some old barks, and the greater portion of the Roman fleet was destroyed. The besieged, now entertaining hopes of a successful resistance, endeavored to procure allies, but their applications, generally, ended in disappointment.

In the third year of this dreadful struggle for liberty and life, the son of Paulus Æmilius, the conqueror of Macedon, and the adoptive grandson of Scipio Africanus, was chosen by the Romans for their consul, and the general of this war. This young man was regarded by his countrymen, in every respect, the worthy successor of the conqueror of Hannibal. He restored the discipline of the army, he engaged the soldiers in laborious and astonishing works, and built a wall across the isthmus, from sea to sea, twelve feet high, so that the besieged could get no provision from the continent that way. He also cut off their supplies in another direction, by erecting a huge mole in the water, near the mouth of the port, a work of immense labor and difficulty. But the Carthaginians dug a new passage into the sea; they built fifty galleys, and their fleet appeared in the Mediterranean, to the astonishment of the besiegers, and gave battle to the enemy's ships. The engagement lasted the whole day. Winter soon after suspended the operations of the siege. Asdrubal endeavored, through the Numidian king, to induce the Roman general to spare the city, for the Carthaginians could now obtain no more provisions from abroad. Scipio smiled, when he was informed of the proposition, yet, fearing lest a successor should be sent from Rome before the war was ended, he made an offer of life and liberty to Asdrubal, and ten families of his friends, on condition that the city should surrender. The Carthaginian indignantly replied, "The day will never come, when the sun shall see Carthage destroyed and Asdrubal alive."

Early the next morning, Scipio gained the walls, forced his way into the great square of the city, and set fire to the houses. Then followed a scene of misery not to be described. Whilst the soldiers were butchering the inhabitants in the streets, wounded men, women, and children cast themselves from the upper stories, to avoid the flames. The air rang with shrieks and lamentations. The living, as well as the dead, were dragged away together with hooks, into the ditches and pits, that they might not choke up the streets. Six days and six nights were spent in indiscriminate massacre. Scipio was the

only person who took no sleep. Fatigued at length, he sat down on a high ground, whence he might see the conclusion of the tragedy. Once, it is said, tears came into his eyes, and he repeated two lines of Homer, which seemed to intimate to him, that Rome itself might one day undergo a similar fate. He wept like a true sentimentalist, not at the wounds of bleeding humanity, at the horrible calamities which were before his eyes, but at fictitious scenes of distress, which his imagination portrayed.

Scipio gave the plunder to the soldiers, excepting the gold, silver, and the offerings found in the temples. Fifty thousand persons were sold for slaves. Thus, in the fourth year of the war, Carthage fell. The Senate ordered Scipio to demolish what remained of the city, and decreed that no one in future should dwell there, adding dire imprecations on those who should disobey their commands. They farther added, that all the towns, which had taken part with the enemy, should be razed, and their territories given to the allies of Rome. After Scipio had seen these commands executed; and had celebrated, to the honor of the gods, games, in which the brutal ferocity of his soldiers was amused with the spectacle of the wild beasts tearing in pieces all the deserters; he returned to Rome, had a splendid triumph, and took the name of Africanus.

“The sun went down, nor ceased the carnage there;  
Tumultuous murder shook the midnight air;  
On Carthage’ tow’rs the fires of ruin glow,  
Its blood-dyed waters murmuring far below;  
The storm prevails, the rampart yields a way,  
Bursts the wild cry of horror and dismay!  
Hark! as the smouldering piles with thunder fall,  
A thousand shrieks for hopeless mercy call!  
Earth shook—red meteors flash’d along the sky,  
And conscious nature shudder’d at the cry!”

“And in those days might only shall be admir’d,  
And valor and heroic virtue call’d;  
To overcome in battle, and subdue  
Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite  
Man-slaughter, shall be held the highest pitch  
Of human glory; and for glory done  
Of triumph, to be styl’d great conquerors,  
Patrons of mankind, gods, and sons of gods;  
Destroyers rightlier called and plagues of men.  
Thus fame shall be achiev’d, renown on earth;  
And what most merits fame in silence hid.”

The utter destruction of Carthage, was succeeded by another scene of horrors, if possible, more tragical. This was the siege of Numantia, in Spain, which had been exposed to infinite vexations from the frauds and extortions of the Roman governors. The just indignation of the inhabitants brought upon them the savage vengeance of the all-grasping conquerors of Carthage. The brave Numantines held out for eight years, with a garrison amounting to only 4,000 men. At last Scipio was commissioned to finish the war. The Numantines having suffered all the evils of famine, offered to surrender on the condition of preserving their liberties and their lives. But the proposition was rejected. They then asked, that they might have the opportunity of meeting their enemies face to face in the field. But Scipio, with 60,000 men, protected by a wall ten feet high, which surrounded the town, and with a trench six miles in circuit, laughed at the challenge, being determined rather to reduce by famine, than encounter in the plain, men rendered desperate by the sufferings which they had endured. At length, this small, but united band of patriots, reduced to a state of starvation, sallied out at two gates, and made a furious assault upon the enemy's lines, but finding it impossible to force the Roman intrenchments, they returned to the town in good order, and came to the unanimous resolution of destroying themselves, and all that they possessed, by the sword, by poison, and by fire. When the Romans entered the city, a horrid stillness prevailed; not a single human being that had breath or motion, not a living creature was to be found; "the city was desolate, without an inhabitant;" there was not one to be devoured by the sword; not a single surviving Numantine to be led in chains, to adorn the triumph of the ruthless conqueror.

There are men, so desperately wicked, and others so wantonly inconsiderate, that will employ all their cunning devices to kindle the flame of war, which is the most dreadful and most demoralizing evil that can afflict humanity. The prejudices and passions of the people are stirred up either by cool malignity, or petulant rashness; and nations, that like kindred drops should be mingled into one, by a community of interests and sympathies, are recklessly plunged into all the horrors of the most bloody contention. Charity hopes that, in many instances, these pestilential disturbers of the peace of nations, know not what they do. Yet such men, who cast about fire brands, arrows, and death, and say, "Are we not in sport?" will profess the religion of Jesus, who said, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to

another!" It is impossible for the utmost severity of language to characterize the enormity of their offence against the precepts of religion, the dictates of humanity, and the moral and physical well-being of society. The indignation of the virtuous members of the community should stamp the brand of infamy on these enemies of their country, and mankind at large.

Of the causes of war, Gulliver relates the following: "Sometimes the ambition of princes, who never think they have land or people enough to govern. Sometimes the corruption of ministers, who engage their masters in a war, to stifle or divert the clamor of the subjects against their evil administration. Difference in opinion on religious subjects has cost many millions of lives. And no wars are so furious and bloody, or of so long continuance, as those occasioned by difference of opinion, especially in things indifferent. Sometimes the quarrel between two States is to decide, which of them shall dispossess a third of his dominions, where neither of them pretends any right. Sometimes a war is entered upon because the enemy is too strong; and sometimes because he is too weak. Sometimes our neighbors want the things which we have, or have the things which we want; and we both fight, till they take ours, or give us theirs. It is a very justifiable cause of war, to invade a country after the people have been wasted by famine, destroyed by pestilence, or embroiled by faction among themselves. It is justifiable to enter into a war against our nearest ally, when one of his towns lies convenient to us, or a territory of land that would render our dominion round and compact. If a prince sends forces into a nation, where the people are poor and ignorant, he may lawfully put half of them to death, and make slaves of the rest, in order to civilize and reduce them from their barbarous way of living. There is, likewise, a kind of beggarly princes in Europe, not able to make war by themselves, who hire out their troops to richer nations, for so much a day to each man, of which they keep three fourths to themselves, and it is the best part of their maintenance.

"What you have told me (said my master) upon the subject of war, does indeed discover most admirably the effects of that reason you pretend to. I could not forbear shaking my head, and smiling a little at his ignorance. And being no stranger to the art of war, I gave him a description of cannons, culverins, musquets, pistols, bullets, powder, swords, bayonets, battles, sieges, retreats, attacks, undermines, countermines, bombardments, sea fights, ships sunk with a thousand men, twenty

thousand killed on each side, dying groans, limbs flying in the air, smoke, noise, confusion, trampling to death under horses' feet, flight, pursuit, victory, fields strewed with carcasses, left for food to dogs and wolves and birds of prey, plundering, stripping, burning, and destroying. And I assured him, that I had seen a hundred enemies at once blown up in a siege, and as many in a ship; and beheld the dead bodies drop down in pieces from the clouds, to the great diversion of the spectators.

"I was going on to more particulars, when my master commanded me silence. He thought his ears being used to such abominable words, might by degrees admit them with less detestation. When a creature, pretending to reason, could be capable of such enormities, he dreaded lest the corruption of that faculty might be worse than brutality itself."

The same sentiment is expressed by C. J. Fox, the nobleness of whose mind was only equalled by the expanded benevolence of his heart. "It has been said, and truly, that one of the many evil consequences of war is, that it tends to render the hearts of mankind callous to the feelings and sentiments of humanity. When we daily hear of the massacre of such numbers of individuals, the mind is bewildered in the magnitude and complication of the misery. I am clearly of opinion, that the human mind may be made so familiar with misery, and scenes of horror, as at last to disregard them, or, at least, to view them with indifference. It is difficult to preserve always the acuteness of the feelings; and it is, in my mind, no small misfortune to live at a period when scenes of horror and blood are frequent. By the constant repetition of such scenes, our feelings are by degrees blunted, and in time become indifferent to what at first would interest them with the most amiable sympathy and distress. Humanity, on this account was, by the Stoics, deemed a weakness in our nature, and, in their opinion, impeded the progress of the judgment, and consequently the improvement of the morals; but my sentiments so widely differ from theirs, that I think humanity not only not a weakness, but the strongest and safest friend to virtue. No man can lament, therefore, more than I do, the mischief done to mankind by making the heart too familiar with misery, and rendering it at last indifferent; because on the heart and on the feelings chiefly depends our love of virtue; and I am convinced that they do more service to the cause of virtue, than the wisest precepts



of the wisest men. Humanity is one of the most beautiful parts of the Divine system of Christianity, which teaches us not only to do good to mankind, but to love each other as brethren: and this all depends on the sensibility of our hearts, the greatest blessing bestowed by Providence on man, and without which, with the most refined and polished understanding, he would be no better than a savage."

## CHAPTER XVI.

### TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS.

"The sedition of the Gracchi," is the expression used by courtly writers, the sycophants of kings and nobles, to designate the disinterested and patriotic exertions of two wise and virtuous men in Rome, to retrieve the character of the Republic, and restore to the Roman people their inalienable rights and privileges.

The father of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, was twice honored with the censorship, twice with the consulate, and led up two triumphs, yet he derived still greater dignity from his virtues. Cicero passes the highest encomiums on his virtue and wisdom. He married Cornelia, daughter of Scipio, who conquered Hannibal. He died before he had attained the meridian of his life. Cornelia was a woman of a strong and well cultivated mind, and remarkable for her many accomplishments. Though well qualified to shine in public, and sure of obtaining much admiration, she sought her satisfaction in the performance of the domestic duties, devoted herself to the education of her children, and had the rich reward of beholding the fruits of her affectionate exertions, in breathing the enlivening spirit, and fixing the generous purpose in the glowing breast.

"What was the world to her,  
Its pomp, its pleasure, and its nonsense all?"

Being once visited by a lady of rank from Campania, the stranger made a show of her jewels to the Roman matron, but then suddenly recollecting herself, said, "You, madam, have doubtless jewels much finer than mine." "I have so," answered Cornelia;" and her children shortly after entering the room, she turned to her visitor, saying, "These are my only jewels." A statue was erected to this illustrious lady in her lifetime, and on the pedestal was inscribed, "Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi," an inscription intended to signify, that

these noble patriots owed, in a great degree, their wisdom and virtue, to the extraordinary skill and affectionate industry of their mother.

In early manhood, Tiberius Gracchus was the favorite of every honorable man in Rome. His intellectual and moral qualities were developed at a very early period, and so great was his reputation, that he was chosen into the college of augurs, as soon as he put on the manly gown. "He was," says Paterculus, "a man of the finest parts, the greatest innocence of life, the purest intentions; in a word, adorned with all the virtues, of which human nature, improved by industry, is capable." And, even Cicero acknowledges, "That Tiberius Gracchus was in no respect inferior in virtue, to his father, or his grandfather, except in this, that he forsook the party of the Senate."

A man of his noble character could not regard without great concern the increasing degeneracy of the citizens of Rome, and more particularly the domineering influence, and the grasping avarice, and fraudulent ambition of the Patricians, whose increasing arrogance but too plainly manifested their desire to destroy the glorious fabric of the constitution of his country. And his disinterested nature and ardent spirit would not suffer him to remain an inactive and selfish spectator of the corruption of the times, and the inroads that were being made on the rights of the people. His generous soul spurned the selfish dictates of prudence and indolence, and luxurious indulgence; and he despised the dastardly and earth-born spirit of those miserable creatures, who, secretly acknowledging the evils which he felt, and the necessity of a reformation of the public abuses to save the sinking commonwealth, had not the virtue to make any sacrifices, to incur any risk, or put themselves to any inconvenience. Tiberius, esteemed and beloved by his own order, well knew that any efforts to restore the privileges, and enforce the rights of the Plebeians, would at once convert all their favorable sentiments into feelings of bitter hostility. Yet, actuated by a strong sense of duty, he disregarded all the suggestions of self interest. Conscious of the influence which he had acquired by his virtue, his courage, his humanity, he was determined to use it all in the promotion of his country's welfare.

Tiberius Gracchus, elected a tribune of the people, determined to execute his long cherished purpose of remedying the grievances which oppressed the Plebeians. His mind was deeply impressed with the state of the country, which he had

observed in passing through Tuscany. He found the lands almost depopulated, there being scarcely any husbandmen or shepherds, except slaves from foreign and barbarous nations, whom the nobles employed to till the ground, of which they had fraudulently deprived the people. These lands, as is mentioned in the 77th page, which had been taken from the people whom the Romans had conquered, were, by law, appointed to be disposed of for the benefit of the Republic. A portion of these lands was sold, a part let at a low rent, and the rest given to the poorer citizens. In process of time, the rich, by various means, got possession of the grounds destined for the subsistence of the poor. This abuse gave occasion to the law obtained by Licinius Stolo, about the year of Rome 306, forbidding any Roman citizen to hold more than five hundred acres of land, or to have upon his estate, more than one hundred great and five hundred small cattle; and requiring that a certain number of freemen, natives of the country, should be employed to cultivate the farms: this, law, confirmed by oath, subjected the transgressors of it to a fine, besides the forfeiture of all their lands beyond the proportion allowed. But notwithstanding these precautions, the Licinian law (observed for some time to the great benefit of the public) fell at length under a total neglect. The rich and the mighty contrived to possess themselves of the lands of their poor neighbors. At first, they held these acquisitions under borrowed names; afterwards, openly, in their own. To cultivate the farms, they employed foreign slaves; so that Italy was in danger of losing its inhabitants of free condition (who had no encouragement to marry, no means to educate children,) and of being overrun with slaves and barbarians, that had neither affection for the Republic, nor interest in her preservation.

Tiberius communicated his project to some of the most virtuous and respectable men in Rome, and had their approbation. Among these were his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, who, we are told, surpassed all the Romans of his time in prudence; Crassus, the pontifex maximus; and the consul, Mucius Scævola, esteemed a wise man, and an able civilian. "There never was a milder law," writes Plutarch, "against so much injustice and oppression: for they who deserved to be punished for their infringement of the rights of the community, and fined for holding the lands contrary to law, were to have a consideration for giving up their groundless claims, and restoring the estates to such of the citizens as were to be relieved. But though the reformation was conducted with so

much tenderness, the people were satisfied. They were willing to overlook what was past, on condition that they might guard against future usurpations. The rich, however, were not satisfied; but, on the contrary, they spoke in terms of strong indignation against the measure, and endeavored to make it appear, that an act of great injustice and cruelty would be committed by removing them from the lands which they had so long possessed. And, they did not scruple to use the disingenuous arts of misrepresentation and calumny, to which reformers in all ages of the world have been exposed. His motives were grossly assailed, and they appealed, as on a former occasion, to the prejudices, jealousy, and passions of people. The rich endeavored, by cunning devices, to raise an odium against Gracchus, and denounced him as a seditious demagogue, whose present object was popularity, and whose ambitious aim, was the throne. They represented, that he intended, by the Agrarian law, to throw the whole State into disorder, and subvert the constitution; though they knew that his patriotic object was to strengthen the republic by an increase of useful members, upon which the welfare, prosperity, and safety of Italy depended. But all their insinuations, and all their calumny, did not at present poison the public mind. The people felt too deeply their grievances, to admit false apprehensions."

"In this just and glorious cause," says Plutarch, "Tiberius exerted an eloquence which might have adorned a worse subject, and which nothing could resist. How great was he, when the people were gathered about the rostrum, and he pleaded for the poor in such language as this: "The wild beasts of Italy have their caves to retire to, but the brave men who spill their blood in her cause, have nothing left but air and light. Without houses, without any settled habitations, they wander from place to place, with their wives and children; and their generals do but mock them, when, at the head of their armies, they exhort their men to fight for their sepulchres, and domestic gods: for among such numbers, perhaps there is not a Roman, who has an altar that belonged to his ancestors, or a sepulchre in which their ashes rest. The private soldiers fight and die to advance the wealth and luxury of the great; and they are called masters of the world, while they have not a foot of ground in their possession."

He asked the rich, "Whether they preferred a slave to a citizen; a man, unqualified to serve in war, to a soldier; an

alien to a member of the republic; and which they thought would be more zealous for its interest."

His speeches on this occasion, glowing with the pure spirit of liberty, and animating the people to a high degree of enthusiasm, silenced his adversaries. They found it necessary to have recourse to other means, and there can be no doubt that they made lavish use of their immense and ill-gotten riches to corrupt not only some of the magistrates, but many of the people themselves. Octavius Cæcina, one of the tribunes, was won over to their interest, and when the law was going to be read to the people for their acceptance, he stood up and opposed it; and as the consent of all the tribunes was requisite, the bill was lost.

Tiberius, however, was not deterred by this triumph of his adversaries; but, as the rich rejected a measure distinguished by a kind consideration for their interests, he proposed a bill excluding the compensation clause, and also enjoining, that whoever held above five hundred acres of the public lands, should be deprived of the overplus. Before the day appointed for taking the suffrages of the tribunes on this new measure, Gracchus and Octavius were strenuously engaged in the rostra in political discussions. "*Yet, (says Plutarch,) not one abusive or disparaging word is said to have escaped either of them in all the heat of speaking. Indeed, an ingenuous disposition and liberal education will prevent or restrain the sallies of passion, not only during the free enjoyment of convivial conversation, but in the ardor of contention about points of a superior nature.*"

Tiberius published an edict, suspending all magistrates from the exercise of their functions, till the new bill was either passed or rejected by the people, and subjecting to large fines those who should disobey his edict. And that the quæstors might not have access to the public money, he shut up the temple of Saturn, where it was kept, and put his own seal upon the door. The faction of the rich appeared in public in mean attire, and with dejected countenances, to excite compassion. But not satisfied with this harmless and theatrical exhibition, which would provoke the laughter of the discerning multitude, they were guilty of the crime of conspiring to murder the people's intrepid advocate. Snares were laid for him, and assassins were suborned to murder him. Apprised of this plot, he carried a dagger under his robe, with the hilt conspicuous, that his enemies might know, he was prepared to resist them.

Of the ten tribunes, Octavius alone took part with the insolent and oppressive nobles. Tiberius, in an assembly of the commons, earnestly entreated him to concur with their desires, and to grant, as a favor to the Roman people, what they had so much right to demand; and which, if obtained, would be but a small recompense for the fatigues which they underwent, and the dangers to which they exposed themselves for the safety of the Republic. Finding the dissentient tribune immovably fixed in his resolution, he then loudly declared, that he saw no way of putting an end to the important dispute between them, but by the deposition of one of them from the tribuneship. He added, "Do you, Octavius, first gather the votes of the people with respect to me: if it be agreeable to them, I am ready to resign my office, and become a private man." Octavius rejecting the expedient, Tiberius replied, "If you persist in your opposition, I will certainly move the comitia to depose you. I will give you to-morrow to consider what part you will act."

The tribunes being assembled the next day, Tiberius mounted the rostrum; and, having once more, in vain, exhorted his colleague to comply with the people's desire, put the question to them, whether Octavius should be removed from the office of the tribune. When seventeen of the thirty-five tribunes had given their voices against him, Tiberius, anxious to save his colleague the disgrace of a public expulsion, interrupted the voting, and after embracing, conjured him, in the most pressing terms, not to expose himself by his obstinacy, to so great a dishonor, nor to bring upon him the reproach of having degraded his colleague and his friend. Octavius, deeply affected by this manifestation of friendship, which political hostility could not destroy, shed tears, and continued for some time silent; but, casting a look towards his rich patrons, he was confirmed in his opposition, and told Tiberius to proceed with the voting.

Deposed, and compelled to leave the rostra, he was with difficulty rescued by Tiberius from the violence of the multitude. No obstacle now remaining, the Agrarian law passed: and, it being resolved that three commissioners should be appointed for the execution of it, the people named Tiberius, his father-in-law, and his brother, Caius Gracchus, who was at this time in Spain, serving under Scipio in the Numantine war. These triumvirs were to examine and judge what lands belonged to the public, as well as to make the intended distribution of them.

The Senate, highly exasperated, offered Tiberius every insult in their power. They refused him, as triumvir, a tent at the public charge, which was usually granted on much less important occasions; and they would allow him no more than nine oboli (about 20 cents) a day for his expenses.

Attalus, king of Pergamus, who died at this time, had left the Roman people his heirs. Tiberius immediately proposed a law, "That all the money in the king's coffers should be distributed among the citizens, to enable them to provide implements of agriculture for their newly assigned lands. And he also declared that the people, not the Senate, had a right to dispose of the cities in the territories of Atticus, and that he would refer the business entirely to their judgment." This proceeding was extremely mortifying to the Senate, and one of the members expressed his impotent spleen by the unfounded statement, "That the deputy from Pergamus had brought the diadem of Attalus, and his purple robe, and privately given them to the tribune, who hoped soon to be king in Rome." These accusations made little impression on the minds of the people, but the deposing of Octavius afforded the rich a plausible pretext for casting aspersions on his character and motives. Some ancient, and many modern writers, impute the basest designs to Tiberius, in this act. But they do him the greatest injustice; for, as Hooke remarks, "Octavius cannot be properly said to have been deposed, merely for making use of a privilege annexed to his office, but for traitorously abusing that privilege."

Octavius had manifestly deserted the cause of the people, which he was elected to promote. He was a faithless servant. His own private interests induced him to obstruct this rare opportunity of rendering a great and lasting service to his constituents. And when we consider, that the opposition of one tribune could defeat the measures of his colleagues united, and also the means which were adopted by the aristocracy to corrupt their fidelity, we must admit the necessity of having, in cases of great importance, recourse to strong measures, to maintain the people's rights. Cicero, who, with all his merits, was no friend to liberty, but was assiduous in increasing the overgrown power of the aristocracy, speaks of a single tribune's right of defeating the plans of his colleagues, as useful to the Republic. It was very useful to the patricians; for it would not often happen that the college of tribunes would be so universally honest, that not one in ten would be corrupted.



But it was intolerable, that the opposition of a single tribune should frustrate the good intentions of the united nine.

Tiberius made the following defence of his conduct. "The person of a tribune, I acknowledge, is sacred and inviolable, because he is consecrated to the people, and takes their interests under his protection; but when he deserts those interests, and becomes an oppressor of the people, when he retrenches their privileges, and takes away their liberty of voting, by those acts he deprives himself, for he no longer keeps to the intention of his employment. Otherwise, if a tribune should demolish the Capitol, and burn the docks and naval stores, his person could not be touched. A man, who might do such things as these, might still be a tribune, though a vile one; but he who diminished the privileges of the people, ceases to be a tribune of the people. Does it not shock you, that a tribune should be able to imprison a consul, and the people have it not in their power to deprive a tribune of his authority, when he uses it against those who gave it? For the tribunes, as well as the consuls, are elected by the people. Kingly government seems to comprehend all authority in itself, and kings are consecrated with the most awful ceremonies: yet the citizens expelled Tarquin, when his administration became iniquitous; and, for the offence of one man, the ancient government under whose auspices Rome was created, was entirely abolished. What is there in Rome so sacred and venerable as the Vestal Virgins, who keep the perpetual fire? Yet, if any of them transgress the rules of her order, she is buried alive: for they who are guilty of impiety against the gods lose that sacred character, which they had only for the sake of the gods.

"So a tribune, who injures the people, can be no longer sacred and inviolable on the people's account. He destroys that power in which alone his strength lay. If it is just for him to be invested with the tribunitia authority by a majority of tribunes, is it not more just for him to be deposed by the suffrages of them all? What is more sacred and inviolable than the offerings in the temples of the gods? Yet none pretend to hinder the people from making use of them, or removing them whenever they please. And, indeed, that the tribune's office is not inviolable or immovable, appears hence, that several have voluntarily laid it down, or been discharged at their own request."

The friends of Tiberius, judging from the menaces and cabals of the rich, that his life would be sacrificed to their

vengeance as soon as he became a private man, persuaded him to solicit for the continuance of his tribunital office for another year. He promised that he would continue his unabated exertions to advance the welfare of the people. He said, "that he would propose a diminution of the number of years that the soldiers had to serve; a right of appeal to the people from the judgments of the magistrates, (a very injudicious measure, which would be subversive of all jurisprudence, of the sacred majesty of the law, and of the independence of the judgment seat,) and that the judges in civil causes should be one half Knights, and not all Senators, as hitherto."

On the day of election, when the first two tribunes had given their votes for Tiberius, the partizans of the rich caused a violent disturbance by the clamor, that it was against the law for the same person to be tribune two years together. At length, the assembly was adjourned. On the following morning, we are gravely told by Plutarch, that several unlucky omens occurred. These, if they did not serve to illustrate the opinions of the age, and to impress on the mind a sense of gratitude to the Author of our Religion, who has saved us from this degrading superstition, would be passed over without notice. "At day break, the person who had the care of the chickens which they use in augury, brought them, and set meat before them; but only one came out of the pen, though the man shook it very much, and that one would not eat; (when the chickens eat greedily, it was thought a sign of good fortune) it only raised up its left wing, and stretched out its leg, and then went in again. This put Tiberius in mind of a former ill omen. He had a helmet that he wore in battle, finely ornamented, and remarkably magnificent; two serpents, that had crept into it privately, laid their eggs and hatched in it. Such a bad presage made him mindful of the late one. Yet, he set out for the Capitol, as soon as he understood that the people were assembled there: but, in going out of the house, he stumbled upon the threshold, and struck it with so much violence, that the nail of his great toe was broken, and the blood flowed from the wound. When he had gone a little on his way, he saw on his left hand two ravens fighting on the top of a house, and though he was attended, on account of his dignity, by great numbers of people, a stone, which one of the ravens threw down, fell close at his feet. This staggered the boldest of his partizans: but Blossius, of Cumæ, one of his train, said, it would be an insupportable disgrace, if Tiberius, the son of Gracchus, grandson of Scipio Africanus, and protector of the

people of Rome, should, for fear of a raven, disappoint that people when they called him to their assistance.

“Several messengers came from his friends then in the Capitol, and desired him to make haste; and they told him that every thing was proceeding according to his wishes. At first, indeed, there was a promising appearance. When the assembly saw him at a distance, they expressed their joy in the loudest acclamations; on his approach, they received him with the utmost cordiality, and formed a circle about him, to keep all strangers off. Mutius then began to call over the tribunes; but nothing could be done in the usual form, on account of the disturbance made by the populace, who were still pressing forwards. Meantime, Fulvius Flaccus, a Senator, got upon an eminence, and knowing that he could not be heard, made a sign with his hand, that he had something to say to Tiberius in private. Tiberius having ordered the people to make way, Flaccus, with much difficulty, got to him, and informed him, ‘That those of the landed interest had applied to the consul, while the Senate was sitting, and as they could not bring their magistrate into their views, they had resolved to despatch Tiberius themselves, and for that purpose had armed a number of their friends and slaves.’

“Tiberius no sooner communicated this intelligence to those about him, than they tucked up their gowns, seized the halberts with which the sergeants kept off the crowd, broke them, and took the pieces to defend themselves against any assault that might be made. Such as were at a distance, much surprised at this incident, called out to know the reason of it. Tiberius, not being able to speak loud enough to be heard, touched his head with his hand, to signify that his life was in danger. Instantly, some of his adversaries ran to the Senate, and informed them that Tiberius demanded a crown: This raised a great commotion. Nasica called upon the consul to defend the commonwealth, and destroy the tyrant. The consul, Mucius Scævola, mildly answered, ‘That he would not begin to use violence, nor could he put any citizen to death who was not legally condemned; but, if Tiberius should either persuade or force the people to decree any thing contrary to the constitution, he would annul it.’ Nasica, flaming with wrath, turned to the Senators, and said, ‘Since the chief magistrate betrays and abandons the Republic, let those, who have any regard for the laws, follow me.’ At the same time, he gathered up his robe, and, attended by the Senate, and the multitude of clients and slaves, who, armed with clubs, had

held themselves ready for action, ran furiously to the Capitol. The majority of the people, panic struck at this unusual appearance, and others, impressed with a sense of reverential or servile awe, made way for the arrogant traitors and assassins, as they dealt their blows right and left, and pushed on towards Tiberius. Those of his friends who had ranged themselves before him, being slain or dispersed, he himself fled, and in his hurry, he stumbled, and fell upon others, who had fallen before him. As he was recovering himself, P. Satureius, one of his colleagues, a name to be handed down to lasting infamy, gave him a blow on the head with a foot of a bench; and he was murdered by a second blow from a wretch named Rufus, who afterwards gloried in the action. Above 300 of Tiberius's friends and adherents fell in this tumult, the victims of "these bloated Senators' unwholesome reign." The murderers threw the dead bodies into the Tiber.

B. C. 132. This is said to have been the first sedition in Rome, since the expulsion of the kings, in which the blood of any citizen was shed. All the other commotions, adds Plutarch, though neither small in themselves, nor about matters of little consequence, were appeased by mutual concessions; the Senate giving up something on the one side, for fear of the people; and the people, on the other, out of respect for the Senate. The conspiracy was formed against him, rather to satisfy the resentment and malignity of the rich, than for the reasons which they assigned to the public. A strong proof of this, we have in their abominable treatment of his dead body: for, notwithstanding the entreaties of his brother, they would not permit him to take away the corpse, and bury it in the night, but threw it into the river with the other victims of their rage. Nor were they satisfied with the cruel vengeance they had inflicted; but they banished some of his friends without form of trial, and took others, and put them to death. One of his friends they shut up in a cask with vipers. The Senate, who professed to respect the laws, were thus guilty of the most flagrant breach of them, which they could commit. They assassinated, before their sacred temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, a magistrate, convicted of no crime, whose person, by the laws, was sacred and inviolable. And in consequence of this example of murderous violence, the State, up to the time of Augustus, was almost constantly in a condition of anarchy, yielding, in every successive crisis of public affairs, though not without violent throes, and acts of desolation, to the law of the strongest.

When the people had recovered from the consternation, into which the appalling arrogance and violence of the Senators had thrown them, they reflected with shame on their pusillanimous desertion of their intrepid advocate, and manifested a determined spirit to vindicate their rights. And the Senate, dreading their anger, suffered a new commissioner, for the execution of the Agrarian law, to be elected in the room of Tiberius. But this temporising of the Patricians did not appease the indignation of the people for their cruel violence to their protector. Nasica, the principal author of the late massacre, was the chief object of their resentment. The poorer citizens, whenever they met him, in the public streets, reproached him with murder and sacrilege, and threatened him with an impeachment. The Senate, fearing the consequence, gave him a commission to Asia, on pretended business. He privately quitted Italy, and after wandering about for some time from place to place, he died in a short time, oppressed with vexation and despair.

It is acknowledged by a writer, who inconsistently condemns Tiberius Gracchus, "that the provocation given by the nobles was indeed shocking; as they were, in the face and defiance of all law and compassion, possessed of all that portion of the conquered lands, which was appointed for the subsistence of the poor Plebeians, who had earned them with their swords. The usurpers were rioting in overgrown wealth, pomp, and luxury; whilst the poor Romans, who daily exposed their lives for the safety and aggrandizement of these their oppressors, by being deprived of their property, wanted bread."

"This author," remarks Hooke, "has overlooked one article in which the provocation was not less shocking than in those he has mentioned. Not content with robbing the people of their lands, they would not suffer them to earn their bread by their labor, in cultivating those lands. Is it any wonder that men thus robbed and beggared by the nobles, thus insulted and oppressed by them, should yield to the temptation to which they were soon exposed, to covet the wealth of other men, to sell both their own, and their country's liberty. Liberty and republic are cant words, where the bulk of the people have neither property, nor the privilege of living by their labor. Had the measures of Tiberius been carried into effect, the ambitious would not have had the power which they afterwards possessed of corrupting; nor, the people, through indigence, have been tempted to barter their liberty for gold. Tiberius, doubtless, foresaw, that the commonwealth must

perish, unless some effectual measures were taken to crush the monstrous heads of that oligarchy which already began to shew itself, and which, if not destroyed, would infallibly produce another monster more hideous, if possible, despotic monarchy. The generous tribune hazarded and lost his life in the pursuit of so glorious an enterprize, and if his character, his views, his conduct, be impartially considered, he must appear the most accomplished patriot that Rome ever produced."

This year (B. C. 130) the comitia, for the first time, chose both of the censors out of the Plebeian order; and a law was also passed, that the tribunes of the people should be Senators. The Patricians were now apprehensive of the indignation of the people, and probably thought, that they would be conciliated by their not interposing their influence to prevent this increase of the popular power. But the pernicious effect of the example which they had set, of lawless violence, was exhibited by an outrageous attempt of one of the tribunes on the life of the censor Metellus, who had expelled him from the Senate. As the censor was returning home at noon-day, the tribune caused him to be seized, and was dragging him away, to throw him headlong from the Tarpeian rock, when he was with difficulty rescued by another tribune. His estate was, however, consecrated to Ceres, and he was reduced to live on the bounty of others.

The commissioners appointed for carrying into effect the Agrarian law, had every possible obstacle thrown in their way. Numberless disputes arose concerning the boundaries of the estates, and the titles of the possessors, and many of them had recourse to Scipio, and begged his protection. Though he durst not act directly against the law of Tiberius, yet he induced the Senate to take from the triumvirs, as biassed and partial judges, the cognizance of these disputes. The Patricians assigned the invidious office to the consul, but he, shrinking from the discharge of his duty, and leaving Italy, all the lawsuits remained undecided, and the functions of the triumvirs were suspended. The people were exasperated, and vehemently reproached their great enemy, the destroyer of Carthage and Numantia. Scipio seems to have aimed at the dictatorship, and the Senate, as an expression of approbation of his aristocratic demeanor, in a body, conducted him home from the Senate house. The next morning he was found dead in his bed, without any appearance of a wound. Rollin asserts, "that Sempronia, his wife, and the sister of the

Gracchi, readily hearkening to the suggestions of Cornelia and the triumvirs, either poisoned her husband, or brought into the house by night assassins, who strangled him." This assertion of the courtly historian is made without any evidence, and is one of the many instances of the effect of interest and prejudice in biasing the judgment. (Rollin was the subject of a despot; his honors and emoluments were dependent on that tyrant's will; by virtue of his office he spoke the annual panegyric on Louis XIV, and he would therefore imbibe the strongest feelings of aversion to the ardent advocate of the people's rights. And it so happens, unfortunately, that most of our popular historians were men, who, by the circumstances in which they were placed, were rendered incapable of writing an impartial account of the transactions which they record. Almost all were the pensioners of the crown. Hume has been convicted of a very gross perversion of facts, and the whole of his history was evidently written with the design of upholding monarchical principles.)

Of the virtues of Cornelia, mention has already been made. Plutarch gives this additional testimony, at the conclusion of his life of Caius Gracchus: "Cornelia is reported to have borne all these misfortunes with a noble magnanimity, and to have said of the consecrated places where her sons lost their lives, 'that they were monuments worthy of them.' She took up her residence at Misenum, after the death of Tiberius, and made no alteration in her manner of living. As she had many friends, her table was always open for the purposes of hospitality. Greeks and other men of letters she had always with her, and all the kings in alliance with Rome expressed their regard by sending her presents, and receiving the like civilities in return. She made herself very agreeable to her guests, by acquainting them with many particulars of her father, Africanus, and of his manner of living. But what they most admired in her was, that she could speak of her sons without a sigh or a tear, and recount their actions and sufferings, as if she had been giving a narrative of some ancient heroes. Some, therefore, imagined that age and the greatness of her misfortunes had deprived her of her understanding and sensibility. But those who were of that opinion, seem rather to have wanted understanding themselves; since they knew not how much a noble mind may, by a liberal education, be enabled to support itself against distress, and that, though in the pursuit of rectitude, Fortune may often defeat the purposes of virtue, yet virtue in bearing affliction, can never lose her prerogative."

Caius Gracchus, the brother of Tiberius, cherished his memory with reverence and affection, and emulated his virtues; but, for several years after his death, sought distinction in the field, and not in the forum. "He gave a noble specimen," says Plutarch, "of every virtue, distinguishing himself among the other young Romans, not only in his operations against the enemy, and in acts of justice to such as submitted, but in his respectful and obliging behavior to the general. In temperance, in simplicity of diet, and love of labor, he excelled even the veterans. But the greatest services to the State did not abate the enmity of the Senate, which was expressed in their violent conduct to the ambassadors of Micipsa, king of Numidia, who came to acquaint them, that their master, out of regard to Caius Gracchus, had sent their general in Sardinia a large supply of corn. Indignant at this conduct, he unexpectedly came to Rome, but was immediately cited to appear before the censors for returning home before the general. He told them, "that he had served twelve campaigns, though he was not obliged to serve more than ten; and that he was the only man who went out with a full purse, and returned with an empty one; while others, after having drunk the wine they carried out, brought back the vessels filled with gold and silver."

Other charges were brought against him, but he triumphantly cleared his character from every aspersion. It is probable that the persecution which he endured from the Senate, determined his future course as to civil affairs; though Cicero relates, that it was caused by a dream, and says, "that when he had formed a resolution to live perfectly quiet, his brother appeared to him when asleep, and thus addressed him, 'why lingerest thou, Caius? There is no alternative: the Fates have decreed us both the same pursuit of life, and the same death, in vindicating the rights of the people.'"

Caius, from this time, entered on the patriotic career which his brother had pursued. Notwithstanding the violent opposition of the Senate, he was chosen tribune for the next year, B. C. 122. Cornelia is said to have employed all the arts of persuasion, as well as the most earnest entreaties, but in vain, to divert him from seeking an office that had proved fatal to his brother.

The Senators now repented of the murder of Tiberius, for they perceived that their fury had raised up one not less eloquent, nor less patriotic; and who was stimulated by a deep sense of their malignant violence towards a brother whom he



had always looked up to with affection and reverence. Caius, passionately fond of literary pursuits, had directed his attention particularly to the study of eloquence. He had splendid talents and unwearied application. His diction was copious, his expression full of dignity, his thoughts just, and the whole composition of his discourse grave and elevated. He is said to have been the first of the Roman orators, who attached any importance to action, which Demosthenes deemed a requisite of the first consequence. And he took so much care with regard to the modulation of his voice in his public harangues, that he had always behind him a musician, who, when he raised it too high, or sunk it too low, brought it, by means of a flageolet, to the proper pitch.

He never allowed the Plebeians to forget the cruel fate of his brother; for, on whatever subject he began, he always introduced the dreadful scene of outrage by which the majesty of the laws had been so grossly violated. And Cicero tells us, that when Caius uttered the following words, there was so much power in his look, his action, and the tone of his voice, that he drew tears even from his enemies: "Ah wretch! whither turn myself? Where hide me? The Capitol a refuge?—There bleeds Tiberius, a brother! Fly home, then?—Disconsolate! to behold a mother overwhelmed with misery and despair."

Of the edicts of Caius which became laws, the following are the most important: "That no Roman citizen should be capitally tried, without an express order from the people." "That the Agrarian law of Tiberius should be enforced, with a clause of a certain annual tribute from the divided lands to the treasury." "That no Roman citizen, under the age of seventeen, should be enlisted." "That the soldiers should be clothed at the public expense, without retrenching any thing of their pay on that account." "That public roads should be made, and kept in repair." "That there should be a monthly distribution of corn to the people, at the expense of the treasury."

The edict concerning the highways was one of great importance, and manifests his provident regard for the interests of the State. An attention to the public roads merits the particular care of every government, as few things contribute more to the prosperity, comfort, social intercourse, and general well being of the community. Caius applied to these works with the greatest diligence and pleasure, and he paid regard to beauty as well as use. The roads were drawn in a straight line through the country, without regard to hills or declivities,

(an error which modern improvement is at last amending, it being at length found out, that time is not measured correctly by distance, but by the quality or inequality of the ground.) They were paved with hewn stone, or made of a binding sand, brought thither for the purpose. When he met with dells, or other deep places, made by land floods, he either filled them up with rubbish, or stretched bridges over them; so that, being levelled and brought to a perfect parallel on both sides, they afforded a regular and elegant prospect through the whole. Besides, he divided all the roads into miles of nearly eight furlongs each, and set up pillars of stone to mark the divisions. He likewise erected other stones at proper distances, on each side of the way, to assist travellers who rode without servants, to mount their horses.

“These little things are great to little men,” and as they exhibit the anxious and paternal solicitude of the government respecting the convenience of the people, they tend more to strengthen their attachment than measures of a momentous nature relating to civil intercourse; as a succession of little kind offices gains our affection more certainly than a few acts of splendid benevolence.

The law ordaining a monthly distribution of corn, though well intended, was not the dictate of enlightened policy. A measure more injurious to the soundness of the body politic can scarcely be imagined. It tended by insensible degrees to produce a spirit of dependence, servility, and pauperism. The people under its operation gradually sunk in their own estimation; they lost the feeling of self-respect, a feeling the nurse of virtue, and the handmaid of true humility. And, the succeeding history of Rome presents them to us a servile, licentious, indolent, venal class, spending their time at the public shows, and eating, not the sweet bread of industry, but the deleterious portion of public largesses, the offals of the rich man's table.

Caius was incessantly occupied in the discharge of his multifarious duties. In his intercourse with ambassadors, officers, soldiers, men of letters, architects, and workmen, he preserved his gravity, dignity, and politeness, accommodating himself to the rank and character of the persons with whom he conversed. Even his enemies could not withhold their testimony to his superior talents and indefatigable industry.

A new decree having been lately made by the comitia, “that if a tribune wanted time to complete any useful undertaking, particular regard should be had to him at the next

election." Caius Gracchus, without any solicitation on his part, was chosen to the office. In his second tribuneship, a law was passed, which took from the Senate the right of judicature, which it had exercised from the foundation of Rome, and transferred it to the knights. This act was found to be necessary to the due administration of justice, and the protection of the subjects and allies of Rome; for many instances had lately occurred, in which the members of their body, convicted of extortion, escaped punishment through their partial regard to their order.

That he was not opposed to the just rights of the Senate, appears from the law, which was passed by his authority, ordaining, "that this assembly should every year, before the election of consuls and prætors, determine which of the provinces should be consular, and which prætorian; and that with regard to the consular provinces, even the tribunes should not have the right of intercession." This law continued till the overthrow of the Republic.

The Senate, however, actuated with inveterate malignity against the advocate of the people's rights, was not softened by this proof of his impartiality; but determined to lower him in the public estimation by the singular expedient of overbidding for popularity. To accomplish their sinister purpose, they won over to their interest Drusus, one of the tribunes, and a distinguished orator. The Senate had railed against Caius as a demagogue, because he had planted two colonies; but, they aided Drusus in procuring a decree for planting twelve new colonies, each of 3,000 Romans; they remitted the yearly tax which Caius had imposed on the lately divided lands; and passed a law, that no Roman general should cause any soldier of the Latin nations to be beaten with rods. Drusus ostentatiously committed to others the disbursement of the public money for public works; while Caius, scorning the idea of the suspicion of fraud, without any hesitation, by virtue of his office, took from the public treasury what was wanted for the execution of his projects. Drusus, on all occasions, stated "that all his measures were proposed by the advice of the Senate, who were above all things solicitous for the good of the people." And, many of the people were imposed upon by these fair seeming measures, and deserted their well tried friends, and joined the faction of their hypocritical enemies. Caius, at this time, was in Africa, engaged in re-building Carthage, for which purpose a law had been passed, notwithstanding the imprecation formerly denounced

against those who should propose such a measure ; and he had taken with him a colony of 6,000 Romans. On his return, he found several eminent persons engaged in insidious exertions to undermine his reputation. One of his enemies, a candidate for the consulship, sought popularity by taking a house in a quarter of the city inhabited by the poorest of the citizens, where he performed the part of a demagogue with great success ; and the consul Fannius, who had been raised to this office, by his interest, was seduced from the popular side by the Patricians.

Caius a third time stood candidate for the tribunitial office, but was defeated, it is said, through a false return. The demagogue, Opimius, his bitter enemy, was elected to the consulship, and exerted the whole power of his office to repeal the laws of Gracchus. On the day fixed for proposing to the comitia the abrogation of these laws, both parties, early in the morning, repaired to the Capitol. While the consul was performing the customary sacrifice, one of the lictors, carrying away the entrails of the victim, said to the friends of Caius, "Make way there, ye worthless citizens, for honest men," and he accompanied these words with the most contemptuous actions. Enraged at this gross insult, the people, regardless of all the entreaties and exertions of Caius, instantly surrounded, and despatched the officer.

This act of popular rage gave the enemies of Gracchus unbounded joy ; and they well knew how to improve it to his ruin. How often have the people destroyed, and brought to the brink of destruction, their most valued privileges by tumultuary scenes of violence ! The experience of all ages "has pleaded like angels, trumpet-tongued," against this licentious mode of vindicating their rights. Oh ! let them, as they value the dearest blessing man can possess, abstain from the violation of the laws of their country ; for law is the only foundation and security of liberty.

At an early hour next day, the consul assembled the Senate, and while he was addressing them within, others exposed the corpse of the lictor on a bier without, and, as it had been previously concerted, carried it through the forum to the Senate-house, making loud lamentations as they proceeded. Opimius, who had taken part in the theatrical arrangement, affected to be much surprised at the commotion, and went out attended with all the Senators to ascertain the cause. The body, being placed in the midst of them, they, who had set the example of massacre by murdering Tiberius, hypocritically joined in the

doleful sounds; they wailed and mourned as for some public and terrible calamity, and expressed their indignation in passionate terms, and joined the procession through the streets.

“Trust not the cunning waters of those eyes,  
For villainy is not without such rheum.”

When they had acted this scene, “with all the forms, modes, and shows of grief,” they returned to the Senate-house. And,

“Upon their eye-balls murd’rous tyranny  
Sat, in grim majesty, to fright the world.”

The Senate came to a vote, which had formerly been resorted to only in seasons of great public calamity, “that the consul should take care, that the commonwealth received no detriment.” This vote conferred dictatorial power. The consul Opimius commanded all the Senators to take arms, and all the knights, each with two slaves well armed, to assemble the next morning.

Caius, as he returned from the forum, stood a long time looking upon his father’s statue, and, after having given vent to his sorrow in some sighs and tears, retired without uttering a word. Many of the Plebeians, witnessing his emotion, expressed their determination to defend him from his enemies, and passed the night before his door. C. Fulvius, prepared to make resistance, drew together a great crowd of people, and led them armed to mount Aventine, of which they took possession. When Caius, with only a short dagger under his gown, was leaving his house, in order to join them, his wife threw herself at his feet, and taking hold of him with one hand, and her son in the other, said to him, “You are leaving me, Caius, not to ascend the rostra, a tribune, as formerly, and a legislator; not to take part in the dangers of a glorious war, where, should you fall, my distress would at least have the consolation of honor. You are going to expose yourself to the murderers of Tiberius, unarmed, indeed, as a man should go, who would rather suffer than commit any violence; but, can the Republic reap any advantage from your destruction? Faction reigns; outrage and the sword are the only measure of justice. Had your brother fallen before Numantia, the truce would have restored to us his body. Now, perhaps, I also must become a supplicant to some river or sea, to discover where your body lies concealed: for, after the murder of

Tiberius, what confidence can we have either in the laws or the gods."

When Licinia had poured forth these lamentations, Caius stole gently from her, and walked on with his friends to mount Aventine. He persuaded Fulvius to send the younger of his sons, a beautiful youth, bearing a caduceus in his hand, to make proposals of peace. He approached with great modesty and tears in his eyes. Many were disposed to listen to the proposal. But Opimius answered, "that it was not by messengers that Fulvius and his followers could make satisfaction to the Senate; they must surrender as criminals convicted; and then, if they pleased, they might deprecate punishment;" and, he forbade the young herald to come any more, unless to signify the submission of those that sent him. When this answer was received, Caius desired to go to treat with the Senate, but his friends would not allow him to expose himself to this danger. The youth being sent out again, was seized and detained prisoner. Opimius instantly marched towards mount Aventine with a numerous body of infantry, and some Cretan archers, and he offered pardon to all who should desert Caius and Fulvius; and promised their weight in gold for their heads. It is said, but surely without foundation, that the greater part of their followers abandoned them on the first onset. All were, however, put to flight by the Cretans. Fulvius took refuge in an old bath, where he was soon found, and put to death with his eldest son.

Caius made no attempt to defend himself, but, expressing the greatest uneasiness at this dreadful violation of the laws, retired into the temple of Diana, where he was prevented by his two faithful friends, Pomponius and Licinius, from putting an end to his own life, and persuaded to make his escape. These true sons of liberty generously sacrificed their lives in withstanding the pursuers at the entrance of the Sublician bridge, that he might have time to secure his retreat. It is said, that Caius called in vain for a horse, as he passed along; but, it is scarcely credible, that the timidity of the people should have overpowered all sense of gratitude. Let us hope that it is a libel on the people, forged to deter their friends in future times from exerting themselves in their behalf. Caius, at length, sought shelter in a wood, where, as he saw the enemy approaching to murder him, he preferred the alternative of falling by the hand of a faithful slave, who, after he had performed this painful service, despatched himself.

The dead bodies of the slain, to the number of 3,000, (which

seems to prove that a vigorous effort was made, and that Caius was not immediately abandoned,) were, by the consul's order, thrown into the Tiber. He confiscated their effects, forbade their widows to wear mourning for them, deprived Caius's widow of her dowry, and caused the younger son of Fulvius to be strangled in prison. After all these acts of violence, and bloody executions, *he built a temple to Concord!* thus glorying in his cruelty, and making the murder of so many citizens a matter of triumph. This Opimius, so deeply stained with the blood of some of the best men in Rome, and who was afterwards banished for taking bribes to betray his country, receives no small share of commendation from Cicero. He speaks of him as the man, who had delivered the Republic from the greatest dangers, and as being justly exempt from any remorse of conscience in his banishment, as the criminality of the deeds which he had committed, rested with those who obliged him to have recourse to these severe measures.

Sallust, however, expresses a different opinion of the violent measures which were at this time adopted by the Patricians to destroy the liberties of Rome. In his history of the war with Jugurtha, he attributes the factions, conspiracies, and contentions which distracted Rome, to the luxury and indolence introduced after the destruction of Carthage. "Before this event, the people and the Senate managed public affairs in a conciliatory spirit, with harmony and moderation. The fear of their common enemies united them in the pursuit of measures for the advantage of the State. But, when they were delivered from this fear, licentiousness and pride, the usual attendants upon prosperity, possessed them. Thus the leisure, which they had longed for in adversity, was more pernicious and destructive than war itself. For the nobility made their high rank, and the people their liberty, the means of gratifying all their prurient desires. Every one, actuated by gross self-interest, was ready to commit any act of fraud and violence. Two factions now divided the State, and the Republic was made the common prey of both. The party of the nobility, however, predominated; for the power of the people, diffused amongst the multitude, was weak from want of union. In peace and in war, every thing was managed by the arbitrary pleasure of a few. The treasury, the provinces, the civil offices, glory, and triumphs, were at their disposal. The people were reduced to subjection by military services, and by penury; the generals divided the plunder of war amongst a few. And, in addition to this cruel injustice,

parents or little children, who happened to live near any great man, were driven from their habitations. Thus avarice, combined with power, regardless of the dictates of moderation or shame, with its polluting touch, grasped and laid waste every thing on which it could lay its vile hand, recklessly disregarding what was esteemed most sacred, until at last it was involved in one common ruin. And when any person arose, who preferred true glory to iniquitous oppression, the city was thrown into general commotion and civil distraction, as if the whole earth was going to be broken up."

"For after Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, whose ancestors in the Carthaginian and other wars, had much increased the power and extent of the State, began to vindicate the rights of the people, and lay bare the wickedness of the aristocracy, the guilty nobility, struck with fear from a consciousness of their crimes, opposed the proceedings of the Gracchi, at one time by the allies and the people of Latium, at another, by means of the Roman knights, whom, the hope of a close alliance with the Patricians, had seduced from the people's interests. In the first place, they put to death with the sword Tiberius, and a few years afterwards, Caius following in the steps of his brother, one a tribune, and the other one of the triumvirs for planting colonies, and also M. Fulvius. The Gracchi, indeed, through an ardent desire of accomplishing their objects, were not sufficiently under the influence of moderation. But it is far better to be defeated in a good cause, than to subdue oppression by unjust means. The nobility, after this victory over the popular party, gave unrestrained indulgence to their vengeance by murdering and banishing a great many persons; but this conduct rather increased the dislike and apprehension of the people than the real power of the aristocracy. This state of things has often proved the destruction of great nations. Each party, reckless of the means, is bent on the destruction of the other, and vengeance is wreaked on the conquered."

The people, in a short time, resumed courage enough to erect statues to the Gracchi, and consecrate the places where they had been slain; and many worshipped there daily as in the temples of the gods: but the popular cause never recovered the wound which it had received, by the murder of these two illustrious patriots. The tribunes themselves combined with the nobles, to injure and oppress the commons. The Agrarian law was gradually abrogated; first, leave was granted to every man, contrary to its tenor, to part with his share of the lands;



which gave the rich an opportunity of making cheap purchases, and even of seizing the properties of the defenceless Plebeians, without any compensation. After the Gracchi, no tribune, or magistrate, ever arose, honest and generous enough to espouse the true interests *of the people*. Some, indeed arose, full of insincere professions, but their object was their own advancement. There were, from this period to the time of the destruction of the Republic, many demagogues, but few genuine patriots. The civil contests, henceforward, were between the Senate, tenacious of their sovereign rule, and a few individuals, who sought to wrest the power out of their hands, and place it in their own. As these contentions are of little present interest, and afford scarcely any valuable instruction, they will not occupy much of our attention.

About ten years before the death of Caius Gracchus, the Slaves in Sicily broke out into an alarming rebellion, which spread over the greater part of the island. Many of the estates were in possession of Roman knights, (opulent publicans,) who, finding it more to their interest to employ slaves, than husbandmen of free condition, had imported so many, that the island swarmed with them. Being under no strict system of discipline, and scarcely allowed necessary food or raiment, they had recourse to rapine, and frequently went out in gangs, plundered villages, and exercised all kinds of violence. Impunity increased these licentious disorders, and gave them an opportunity of forming plots to throw off the yoke of servitude. One of these slaves, of the name of Eunus, pretended to have, by dreams and apparitions, intercourse with the gods, and, by various juggling tricks, he raised his reputation so high, that his advice was deemed oracular. Multitudes flocked to him to be told their fortunes. And he persuaded many of his votaries, that he was destined to be a king. Four hundred slaves, armed with rustic weapons, placed him at their head, and increasing in numbers as they went, they got possession of Enna, plundered the houses, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Having murdered many of their masters, Eunus put the regal circle on his head, took the name of Antiochus, and established a form of government. Three Roman prætors were successively vanquished by the slaves, whose numbers now amounted to nearly 200,000 men. Several towns were taken by this tumultuous assemblage, and the whole island was threatened with pillage and indiscriminate massacre.

The example of the slaves in Sicily was followed by many

in Italy and Greece, and a servile war was apprehended throughout the extent of the Roman empire. But, at length, after the destruction of more than 20,000 of the insurgents, the discipline of the Roman armies prevailed over the disunited bands of fugitives. Eunus, with 600 of his guards, escaped from Enna, and took refuge in a steep rocky place. Being surrounded by the Romans, the guards slew one another to avoid a more painful death, and the prophet, hiding himself in a cave, was dragged out, together with his cook, his baker, the man that used to rub him when he bathed, and a buffoon, whose business it was to divert him at his meals.

B. C. 128. The Romans, after suppressing this alarming rebellion, entered upon a new war in Asia, to take possession of the kingdom and the people, that Attalus, by his sovereign pleasure, had left in his will to the Republic. These inconsistent champions of liberty maintained, certainly not by any appeal to her sacred dictates, but by the strong arm of power, that a man, invested with a diadem, has a right to dispose of his subjects, as if they were so many head of cattle. They uniformly acted on the principle, that might constitutes right. The undertaking was more difficult than they expected. The whole Roman army was routed, and the general taken prisoner. To avoid the disgrace of slavery, he provoked a Thracian to kill him, by thrusting a rod into his eye. The reduction of Pergamus was effected by the basest methods. The consul poisoned the springs from which the towns, that held out against him, were supplied with water. Yet, after this barbarous device, he was continued in the government of Pergamus three years after the expiration of his consulship; and when he returned to Rome, he was honored with a triumph. Not long after this, the Republic claimed as her own, Ionia, Eolis, Caria, Lydia, Doris, Lycæonia, Pisidia, and the two Phrygias, and the whole, including Pergamus, was called the province of Asia. From this time, there was a perpetual intercourse kept up with the Asiatics; and hence that excess of luxury, and that refinement in vice, which completed the corruption of the manners of the Romans, and subverted the republican constitution.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### ASIA MINOR.

Asia Minor is a name which does not occur in the Classics, but was first given to this peninsula in the middle ages. It is now called Natolia or Anatolia, because it lies east from Constantinople.

The chief parts of Asia Minor were Mysia, Troas, Æolis, Iónia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia, Isauria and Lycaonia, Cilicia, Cappadocia and Armenia Minor, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Galatia or Gallogræcia, and Phrygia Magna.

1. **MYRIA**, divided into Minor and Major. The first lay along the Hellespont. The chief town is Cyzicus, on an island of the Propontis, joined to the continent by two bridges, rendered famous by the siege of Mithridates, which was raised by Lucullus. Near this is the Granicus, where Alexander first defeated the Persians, and Lucullus cut to pieces the army of Mithridates. North of it is the river Æsopus, the boundary of this province; south of it, Lampascus.

Mysia Major was intermingled with the two following divisions, which it anciently included.

2. **TROAS**, or **PHRYGIA MINOR**. — Troja or Ilium is, near the mouth of the river Scamander or Xanthus, below its junction with the Simois. These are torrents which flow from mount Ida. On the sea stood Rhætéum, where was the tomb of Ajax, and Sigæum, where was the tomb of Achilles, both situate on promontories of the same name; opposite to which is the island Tenedos. On the Thymbris, a small river which runs into the Scamander, stood Thymbra, famous for the temple of Apollo, in which Achilles was slain by Paris.

Opposite to the north of the island Lesbos, is the promontory Lectum; south of which stood Antandros and Adramyttium, on a bay of the same name; Campus Thebes, celebrated by Homer, and Lyrnessus, the country of Briséis, the captive

of Achilles. In this and the neighboring countries dwelt the Leleges.

The capital of Troas is celebrated by the poems of Homer and Virgil; and, of all the wars of ancient times, the siege of Troy is the most famous. The Trojan war was undertaken by the Greeks to recover Helen, the wife of Meneláus, whom Paris, the son of Priam, king of Troy, had carried off from the house of his host. All Greece united to avenge the cause of the king of Sparta, brother of Agamemnon. The largest ships carried about 120 men each, and, it is supposed, that about 100,000 men were engaged in this expedition. Agamemnon was chosen general of all these forces, but the kings and princes of Greece were admitted among his counsellors, and by them all the operations of the war were directed. The most celebrated of the Grecian princes that distinguished themselves in this war, were Achilles, Ajax, Meneláus, Ulysses, Diomédes, Protesilaus, Patróclus, Agamemnon, Nestor, Neoptolemus. The king of Troy received assistance from the neighboring princes of Asia Minor, and reckoned among his most active generals, Rhesus, king of Thrace, and Memnon, who entered the field with 20,000 Assyrians and Æthiopians. The operations of the siege were retarded by a plague; and the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles, respecting the captive Bryseis. After the siege had been carried on for ten years, it is said, that the city was betrayed by some of the Trojans. The poets, however, maintained it was taken by artifice; — that the Palladium, a statue of Pallas, said to have fallen from heaven, on the preservation of which depended the safety of Troy, was stolen by Ulysses and Diomedes, (though others assert, that the true Palladium was not taken away, but was conveyed from Troy to Italy by Æneas,) and that a large wooden horse, filled with armed men, fabricated by the Greeks, was, in consequence of false representations of its object, incautiously taken into the city by the Trojans; and that during the night, the Greeks let themselves down, and opened the gates to their companions, who were concealed in the island of Tenedos. A scene of indiscriminate massacre ensued, and Troy was reduced to ashes. B. C. 1185.

3. *ÆOLIA*, between the rivers Caicus and Hermus, was peopled by the Æolian Greeks from Ætolia. There were twelve considerable cities, of which Cumæ and Lesbos and Larissia were the most famous. There was an oracle of Apollo at Grynium.

4. *IONIA* was likewise peopled by the Greeks. It was

divided into twelve small states, which formed a celebrated confederacy. These twelve states were, Priène, Milétus, Colophon, Clazoménæ, Ephesus, Lebedos, Teos, Phocæa, Erythræ, Smyrna, and the capitals of Samos and Chios. Having enjoyed their independence for some time, they were made tributary to the power of Lydia by Cræsus. The Athenians assisted them to shake off the Asiatic yoke, but they joined Xerxes when he invaded Greece. They were delivered from the tyranny of the Persians by Alexander, and were reduced by the Romans under the dictator Scylla. B. C. 80. Ephesus was famous for the temple of Diana, one of the seven wonders of the world, built at the joint expense of the Grecian states in Asia. It was the birth place of Heraclitus, the weeping philosopher, of Hippônax the poet, and of Parrhasius and Apelles, painters. Near Mycale, the Persian fleet was defeated by the Greeks. At Teos the poet Anacreon was born. At Priène, Bias, one of the seven wise men of Greece; and near the city was the river Mæander, remarkable for its winding stream, whence the word is used to denote a labyrinth, and a serpentine course. Milétus was the city of Thales, the father of philosophy, and of his scholar Anaximander, the inventor of dials and maps; and of Timotheus, the musician. To Themistocles (who on his banishment sought a refuge in the court of the Persian monarch,) Artaxerxes granted Myus to furnish his table with meat, Magnesia to supply him with bread, and Lampsacus with wine.

5. **LYDIA**, called also Mæonia. Its capital was Sardes, at the foot of mount Tmolus, in which, we are told, Midas, who turned into gold whatever he touched, washed himself, whence it rolled golden sands. North of this was Magnesia, at the foot of Mount Sipylus, near which Antiochus was defeated by the Romans under Scipio Africanus. On the river Caystrus, stood Philadelphia and Metropolis. There were three different races that reigned in Lydia, the Atiadæ, Heraclidæ, (the descendants of Hercules, whose recovery of the Peloponesus, 80 years after the Trojan war, forms an important epoch in ancient history,) and Mermnadæ. Lydia was governed by monarchs, who, after the fabulous ages, reigned for 249 years. Cræsus, the last king, was conquered by Cyrus. B. C. 548. The court of Cræsus was the asylum of learning; under his patronage lived Æsop, the celebrated writer of fables. In a conversation with Solon, Cræsus endeavored to induce the philosopher to pronounce him the happiest of mankind, but Solon abhorring flattery, would not gratify the vanity of the

rich and powerful monarch. "I see you," he said, "the sovereign of many nations, and possessed of extraordinary affluence and power. But, I shall not be able to give a satisfactory answer to the question you propose, till I know that your scene of life shall be closed with tranquillity. The man of affluence is not, in fact, more happy than the possessor of a bare sufficiency; unless, in addition to his wealth, his end of life be fortunate. We often discern misery in the midst of splendid plenty, whilst real happiness is found in the humbler stations. The rich man, who knows not happiness, surpasses but in two things the humbler, but more fortunate character with which we compare him. Yet there is a variety of incidents in which the latter excels the former. The rich man can gratify his passions; and has little to apprehend from accidental injuries. The poor man's condition exempts him entirely from these sources of affliction. He, moreover, possesses health and strength; a stranger to misfortune, he is blessed in his children, and amiable in himself. If, at the end of such a life, his death be fortunate, this, O! king, is the truly happy man, the object of your curious inquiry. It is the part of wisdom to look to the event of things; for the Deity often overwhelms with misery, those who have formerly been placed on the summit of felicity."

Cræsus, dissatisfied, dismissed the philosopher with displeasure. "You see," said Æsop to his friend, "that we must either not come near kings, or we must entertain them with things agreeable to them." "That is not the point," replied Solon; "you should either say nothing to them, or tell them what is useful."

The happiness of Cræsus was soon disturbed by the death of his son; and his thoughts were, at length, diverted from his domestic affliction by the alarming progress of the Persian arms. In great apprehension, he consulted all the oracles, and also sent to the Lybian Ammon. The only satisfactory answer was that returned by Apollo at Delphi, which, in reply to the question, "What Cræsus was at that time doing?" answered in heroic verse,

"I count the sand, I measure out the sea;  
The silent and the dumb are heard by me;  
E'en now the odors to my sense that rise,  
A tortoise boiling with a lamb supplies,  
When brass below, and brass above it lies."

It is said, that on the day appointed to consult the different

oracles, Cræsus, determined to do what it would be equally difficult to discover or explain, and for this purpose he had cut in pieces a tortoise and a lamb, and boiled them together in a covered vessel of brass.

Cræsus, perfectly convinced of the divinity of the oracle, and determined to secure the assistance of the god, made the most splendid offerings, under the notion, (which was contrary to the system of heathen mythology, but an inconsistency which we find constantly exhibited in the practice of the Pagans,) that, what they called the inevitable decrees of the Fates, could be changed by very costly sacrifices. He offered up three thousand chosen victims; he collected a great number of couches decorated with gold and silver, many goblets of gold and vests of purple, and consumed them all upon one immense pile. He persuaded his subjects also to offer up, in like manner, the proper objects for sacrifice, which they respectively possessed. Of the gold which melted and flowed together, he formed a number of tiles, and constructed also a lion of pure gold, which weighed ten talents. This, placed on the tiles, was conveyed to Delphi; he sent also to the same temple, two large cisterns, one of gold and one of silver, and two basins of the same metals, some silver dishes, the figure of a woman in gold, and his wife's necklaces and girdles.

When these precious offerings were presented, in return for the sagacity of the oracle, the important question was put, "Whether he might proceed against the Persians, and whether he should require the assistance of any allies?" The answers were satisfactory. He was assured, "That if he prosecuted the war with Persia, he should overthrow a mighty empire." The gratitude of the oracle on this occasion overcame its usual mysterious discretion. The Delphians assigned to Cræsus and the Lydians the privilege of first consulting the oracle, in preference to other nations, a distinguished seat in their temple, and the right of being enrolled among the citizens of Delphi.

His desire of inquiring into futurity increased; that blindness to the future, so kindly given, he earnestly longed to remove, and he asked, "Whether his power would ever suffer diminution?" The oracle now reassumed its enigmatical style of response, and replied,

"When o'er the Medes a mule shall sit on high,  
O'er pebbly Hermus then, soft Lydian fly;  
Fly with all haste; for safety scorn thy fame,  
Nor scruple to deserve a coward's name."

Cræsus was more delighted than before, confident that a mule would never be sovereign of the Medes.

The Lacedemonians, gratified with the offer of his alliance, cordially acceded to his proposed terms of confederacy. But, all the offerings and exertions of the king of Lydia were unavailing, and the deluded monarch's capital was taken. During the storm of the city, Cræsus, overwhelmed by his calamity, took no care to escape death; and when a Persian was about to kill him, Herodotus relates, that his dumb son, who had never before articulated, cried out, "Oh, man, do not kill Cræsus." Cyrus gave orders that Cræsus should be placed in chains upon the summit of a huge wooden pile, and fourteen Lydian youths around him. The words of the Athenian legislator now possessed his mind, and, rousing himself from the profound silence of affliction, he thrice pronounced aloud the name of Solon. Being asked to explain what he meant, he replied, "I named a man with whom I would rather that all kings should converse, than be master of the greatest riches." The cruelty of Cyrus relented; the captive monarch was unbound, and was admitted into his friendship. The fallen king indignantly sent his fetters to the god of Greece, and the unabashed oracle, in return, reproached Cræsus for want of sagacity.

The Lydians are the first people on record who coined gold and silver. They claimed, also, the invention of certain games, since used among the Grecians. They were guilty of the grossest licentiousness.

6. **CARIA.** The chief town was Halicarnassus, (the birth place of Herodotus, the father of history, and of Dionysius,) famous for the monument of Mausólus, erected by his queen, Artemisia, to celebrate the memory of a husband whom she tenderly loved. This monument, which passed for one of the seven wonders of the world, had its name from the king, and all other magnificent sepulchres and tombstones have received the same name. It was built by four celebrated architects. A pyramid was raised over it, and the top was adorned with a chariot drawn by four horses.

Artemisia is said to have drunk, in her liquor, her husband's ashes, after his body had been burnt. She invited all the literary men of her age, and proposed rewards to him, who should compose the best elegiac panegyric upon Mausolus. But her grief was inconsolable, and it preyed on her spirits, and brought her to the grave. She assisted Xerxes in his expedition against Greece, and her valor was so great, that



the monarch observed, "that all his men fought like women, and all his women like men."

At Cnidus, which was sacred to Venus, was a celebrated statue, made by Praxiteles; and near Halicarnassus, the celebrated fountain Salmacis, which was said to render men effeminate.

7. **LYCIA.** The principal towns of this kingdom were Telmessus; Xanthus, on a river of this name; Patara, famous for an oracle of Apollo; Limyra, near which was Chelidonium, whence mount Taurus begins; Olympus, at the foot of a mountain of that name; and Phaselis. The chief mountain of Lycia is Cragus, one of the ridges of which emitting flame, originated the poetic fiction of the three-fold monster Chimæra, composed of a lion, a goat, and a dragon.

The inhabitants were praised by the ancients for their sobriety and justice, and their great dexterity in the management of the bow. The government was anciently republican. The Lycians were subdued by Cræsus, and afterwards by Cyrus, but they had their own form of government, and paid to the Persian monarch only a yearly tribute. The country was reduced to a Roman province by the emperor Claudius.

8. **PAMPHYLIA** and **PISIDIA** are mountainous but fertile regions. Between the rivers Cestrus and Cataractes stood Perga; Aspendus on the river Eurymedon, at the mouth of which Cimon destroyed the fleet and the army of the Persians. In Pisidia were Antiochia, Termessus, Lyrba, and Selga. There was a magnificent temple of Diana at Perga.

9. **ISAURIA** and **LYCAONIA** are intersected by branches of mount Taurus, and were subdued by the Romans under Servilius. B. C. 80. The principal towns were Coracesium, Sydra, Hamaxia, Selimus, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra, where the Apostle Paul was stoned.

10. **CILICIA** is so hemmed in with mountains, that it has few passages, and these are very narrow; hence called Pylæ. At the mouth of the river Calycadmus is the promontory Sarpédon. Along the coast is Soli, said to have been founded by Solon. The Athenians, who settled there, having corrupted the purity of their language, are thought to have given rise to the term solecism. On the river Cydnus, which had almost proved fatal to Alexander, stood Tarsus, where the Apostle Paul was born. The inhabitants of this city are said to have excelled those of Athens and Alexandria in the study of philosophy and the sciences. On the confines of Syria, the mount Amâmus, now Monte Negro, often mentioned by

Cicero, approaches so near the sea as to form the pass called Pylæ Syriæ, or Amanicæ, near which stood Issus, not far from the river Pinarus, where Alexander gained his celebrated victory over Darius. Here the conqueror built Alexandria, now Scanderoon, the port town to Aleppo; at some distance from it is Nicopolis.

11. CAPPADOCIA is situate between the Halys, the Euphrates, and the Euxine. Among the Romans, the people of this country were noted for their vices, and a wicked man was emphatically called a Cappadocian. The kingdom was reduced to a Roman province in the time of Tiberius. The Romans are said to have offered this people their liberty in consideration of their fidelity to their interests, but the Cappadocians (wisely, if they were so wicked as they are represented,) rejected the offer. This country was famous for its horses and mules, and slaves.

12. PONTUS extended along the Euxine from Colchis to the river Halys, the kingdom of Mithridates. East from Halys stood Amisus. Amasia was the birth place of Strabo, the geographer.

Along the river Thermodon is supposed to have been the country of the Amazons, a nation of celebrated women, who employed all their life in wars and manly exercises. The male children are said to have been strangled as soon as they were born. The right breast was burnt off, that they might hurl a javelin with more force, and make a better use of the bow. These women are said to have founded an extensive kingdom in Asia. Strabo denies altogether the existence of these female warriors, but Justin and Didorus are strenuous in support of the common opinion, and give marvellous accounts of their exploits.

On the borders of Colchis stood Trapesus. Colchis is famous for the expedition of the Argonauts, so called from the ship Argo, which conveyed Jason and his forty-five companions, the most illustrious young men in Greece. B. C. 1263. The poets say, that this fleece had been the fleece of a ram on which Phryxus and Helle were carried through the air. Helle, becoming giddy, fell into the strait, called from her the Hellespont, but Phryxus reached Colchis in safety, and according to the directions of his mother, sacrificed the ram to Mars, and suspended its golden fleece in the temple of that god, where it was continually guarded by bulls that breathed fire, and a dragon that never slept. The king of Colchis, at first, treated Phryxus with kindness, but, afterwards, killed him

for the sake of the fleece, having been told by an oracle, that he should reign as long as the golden fleece remained in the temple of Mars.

Jason, who was educated by the Centaur Chiron, (the Centaurs were fabulous animals, half man and half horse; in the existence of which, however, Plutarch, Pliny, &c., believed,) being deprived of his right to the crown of Iolcos in Thessaly, was promised that he should be put in possession, if he would fetch the golden fleece. He met with various adventures during his voyage, in the number of which, the expulsion of the Harpies from the kingdom of Phineus is not the least remarkable. (The Harpies were winged monsters, that had the face of a woman, the body of a vulture, and their feet and fingers armed with sharp claws.) Instructed by Phineus, he, at length, reached Colchis in safety. The king, intending to tantalize the intrepid adventurer, promised the fleece on conditions which he believed impracticable. He had to force to the yoke the brazen footed bulls, whose nostrils breathed flames, and to plough with them a field sacred to Mars, never before tilled; to kill the sleepless dragon which guarded the fleece; and to sow in the ground ploughed by the bulls, the teeth of the dragon; and to destroy the armed men that would spring up from this iron seed. All these perilous and apparently impossible tasks were successfully performed by the aid and advice of the sorceress Medea, the king's daughter, whom he promised to marry, if her promises were fulfilled. By her magic herbs, he was rendered invulnerable from the breath of the bulls, the dragon was lulled to sleep with a juice which she prepared, and by throwing a stone, according to her directions, amongst the armed men, the fruit of the teeth, they fell by mutual slaughter. Jason seized the fleece, returned in triumph to his native country along with Medea, who carried with her a brother, a youth, whose limbs she tore in pieces, and threw in different places at a distance from each other, that she might outstrip her father, who was in pursuit, by occupying him with gathering the scattered members. Jason having lived ten years in harmony with Medea, divorced her, and married Creusa. The enraged sorceress slew her sons in his presence, set fire to the palace, and burnt Creusa with a poisoned robe.

13. PAPHLAGONIA. The principal towns were Sinópe, the birth place of Diogenes the Cynic, and Carambis, near a famous promontory of the same name, now Karempi.

14. BITHYNIA extended from the Thracian Bosphorus to the river Parthenias. On the Propontis, near the mouth of the

river Ryndacus stood Apaméa. North of it Nicomedia, and near it Libyssa, the burial place of Hannibal. On the Bosphorus stood Chalcédon, now Scutari. On the Euxine sea stood Calpas, at the mouth of the river Calpas a celebrated harbor. At the foot of mount Olympus stood Prusa, for some time the capital of the Turks.

The most remarkable cities along the sea coast of Asia Minor, were settled by Greek colonies.

15. GALLATIA, or GALLOGRECIA. It got this name from the Gauls, who settled in it about 270 B. C. The chief towns were Ancyra, now Angoura, and Tavium.

16. PHYRGIA MAGNA. In the north, near the source of the river Sangarius, stood Pessinus, famous for the ancient temple of Cybelé, at the foot of Mount Dindymus; south of it was Gordium, celebrated for the Gordian knot, which Alexander cut with his sword, instead of trying to untie it:—During a sedition, the Phrygians consulted the oracle, and were told that all their troubles would cease as soon as they chose for their king, the first man they met going to the temple of Jupiter in a chariot. Gordius became their king, and he immediately consecrated his chariot in the temple of Jupiter. The knot which tied the yoke to the draught tree, was made in so artful a manner, that the ends of the cord could not be perceived. From this circumstance a report was soon spread, that the empire of Asia was promised by the oracle to him that could untie the knot.

On the river Lycus, stood Laodicæa and Colossé; north of which was Apaméa, on the river Marsyas, where Apollo is said to have flayed alive one Marsyas, for presuming to contend with him in music.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### WAR WITH JUGURTHA, KING OF NUMIDIA.

B. C. 108. Numidia was a kingdom of Africa, bounded on the north by the Mediterranean Sea; on the south by Getulia, or part of Lybia Interior; on the west by Mulucha, a river which separated it from Mauritania; and on the east by Tusca, another river, which bounded it in common with Africa Propria. But it was divided differently at different times. The two chief States in it were the Massyli, on the east; and the Massæsyli on the west. Masinissa was king of the former, and Syphax of the latter. They were both called Nomades or Numidæ, and after the defeat of Syphax became subject to Masinissa.

The chief towns on the sea coast were, Tabraca, at the mouth of the river Tusca; Hippo Regius, near the river Rubricatus; and west of this Rusicade. The inland towns: Cirta, the capital, near the river Ampsaga; east of this, was Vaga; south of it, Sicca; and Zama, famous for the defeat of Hannibal by Scipio. The situation of Thirmida is uncertain. Among the deserts stood Thala and Capsa.

The Numidians had been the inveterate enemies of the Carthaginians, and, after the destruction of Carthage, they became not only the allies, but, in reality, the dependents of the Roman government.

Micipsa, the king of Numidia, had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, and also a nephew, the son of Manastabal, who had shared the kingdom with him. Jugurtha, the son of Manastabal, not being born in marriage, was left in a private condition; but, Micipsa generously took him into his own house, and brought him up with his own children. Nature had bestowed upon the young Numidian every bodily accomplishment, vigor of limbs, dignity of shape and air, with a pleasing, an engaging, and an open countenance. Nor was he less distinguished for his intellectual qualities, which were of the highest order. Despising a life of luxurious indulgence, he was indefatigable in the improvement of his various talents. In all the manly

exercises of that military age, and of his own country, which was noted for excellent warriors, he particularly distinguished himself. In riding, in throwing the dart, in running, in hunting, and more especially in attacking the monarch of the desert, and other wild beasts, he was without an equal; and yet, he conducted himself with so much humility, that he never plumed himself on the exploits, which gained the admiration of all his companions; and consequently he obtained the esteem and affection, not only of his uncle, but of the whole court. But, at length, his generally acknowledged superiority over his cousins, began to excite the jealous apprehensions of a fond father, who could not bear that his own children should be thrown into the shade by the splendor of the illegitimate protégé. A person of a majestic figure, expert in all bodily exercises, gracious and affable in his deportment, was well qualified to captivate the populace by his exterior appearance, and to gain the favor of men of sense by his more solid accomplishments.

The king, reflecting on the tender years and the very inferior attractions of his sons, on the temptations of a throne, and the fondness of the Numidians for his nephew, and apprehending that the daring and ambitious spirit of Jugurtha might meet with a favorable opportunity to display itself, earnestly desired his death; and he was deterred only by the fear of sedition or rebellion, from using violent means to quiet his fears. His only hope was in the chance of war, in which Jugurtha was the foremost in action, being particularly desirous of military glory. A favorable opportunity presented itself, on the application of the Roman people for soldiers to assist in the Numantine war. Jugurtha was appointed general of the Numidian forces. Having studied the character of Scipio, the Roman commander, he soon succeeded in gaining his esteem and confidence, by his strict submission to all orders, by his unwearied assiduity, and by his intrepid bearing. By constantly exposing himself in the front of the battle, by his unwearied labor, and uniform self-denial, he gained the admiration and affection of the Roman army. And he was as wise in the council, as he was valiant in the field. Scipio employed Jugurtha to execute all his dangerous projects, and daily gave him fresh instances of his approbation and friendship. The measures and undertakings of the Numidian seldom failed of success. And by his magnanimity and generosity, by his dexterity and wit, he won the familiar friendship of many of the officers in the Roman army.

"There were at this time," says Sallust, "in our army many men of low and high birth, of a factious spirit, who had great influence at home and abroad, to whom riches were more precious than virtue and honor, that inflamed the ambition of Jugurtha, by the offer of their service, and the intimation, that if Micipsa was no more, his distinguished merit, and the venality of Rome, would put him in possession of the crown."

After the reduction of Numantia, Micipsa, influenced by the high commendations of Scipio, endeavored to secure for a friend and protector of his children, him whom he could not destroy as an enemy; and, with this view, he adopted him, and left him joint heir with his own sons. A few years after, when his health was rapidly declining, the king urged his nephew with great earnestness, and in a very affectionate manner, to act with sincerity and kindness to his children. "I entreat and conjure you," he said, "by this right hand, to love these my sons, who are your relations by birth, and brothers by adoption, and not to prefer strangers before those who are bound to you with the ties of consanguinity. Armies and treasures are not the firm defence of a kingdom, but friends, whom you cannot secure by arms, nor purchase with gold. These invaluable blessings are procured by fidelity and kindness. And, who should be more friendly than a brother to a brother? or what stranger can you find faithful, if you become an enemy to your own relations. I deliver to you a kingdom, that will be firmly established, if ye act virtuously, but will soon be reduced to weakness, if ye disregard my injunctions. For small states increase by unanimity, but the greatest fall to pieces by discord. And it is particularly incumbent upon you, Jugurtha, who are superior in age and wisdom, to take care that all things be properly conducted. In every dispute, the more powerful and influential, although he may be the aggrieved person, is, in consequence of his superiority, believed to be the aggressor. And you, Adherbal and Hiempsal, respect and love this distinguished personage, imitate his virtues, and strive, to the utmost of your power, to save me from the reproach of having adopted children superior to my own."

Jugurtha, though he was aware of the king's insincerity and jealousy, made a gracious reply. A few days put an end to all the anxious fears of the king; and, almost immediately after his funeral, his worst apprehensions were fulfilled. When the three princes were assembled to consult about their affairs, a violent dispute arose respecting the place of honor. When

this matter of ceremony was arranged, Jugurtha proposed that all the statutes and decrees of the five foregoing years should be repealed, as the king was superannuated. To this proposal the jealous and impetuous Hiempsal immediately replied, "By all means; I am entirely of your opinion; for within the three last years you were adopted."

An expression, that escapes the lips in a moment, not unfrequently imbitters the rest of life. These words were in the heart of Jugurtha "as a burning fire shut up in his bones; he was weary with forbearing, and he could not stay." "The saying," writes Sallust, "sank more deeply into the mind of Jugurtha than any one conceived. And from this time, excited with fear and rage, he was solely intent on devising some artful contrivance to destroy Hiempsal." An opportunity was soon afforded. The host, with whom the king's younger son had taken up a temporary residence, admitted, by night, a party of soldiers, who cut off Hiempsal's head, and carried it to their master.

The following speech of Adherbal to the Senate will sufficiently unfold the sequel of this cruel and barbarous act. How astonishing, that a man so highly gifted with every personal and intellectual advantage; so rich in the means of conferring the most important blessings on his species, should pervert all his opportunities of usefulness, and become a curse to mankind, and a prey to the most malignant and miserable passions.

*Speech of Adherbal to the Roman Senate, imploring their protection against Jugurtha.*

"Fathers: It is known to you, that king Micipsa, my father, on his death bed, left in charge to Jugurtha, his adopted son, conjointly with my unfortunate brother Hiempsal and myself, his own children, the administration of the kingdom of Numidia, directing us to consider the Senate and people of Rome as proprietors of it. He charged us to use our best endeavors to be serviceable to the Roman commonwealth; assuring us, that your protection would prove a defence against all enemies; and would be instead of armies, fortifications, and treasures.

"While my brother and I were thinking of nothing, but how to regulate ourselves according to the directions of our deceased father, Jugurtha, the most infamous of mankind, breaking through all ties of gratitude and of common humanity, and trampling on the authority of the Roman commonwealth, procured the murder of my unfortunate brother; and has driven



me from my throne and native country, though he knows I inherit, from my grandfather Massinissa, and my father Micipsa, the friendship and alliance of the Romans.

“For a prince to be reduced, by villainy, to my distressful circumstances, is calamity enough; but my misfortunes are heightened by the consideration, that I find myself obliged to solicit your assistance, fathers, for the services done you by my ancestors, not for any I have been able to render you in my own person. Jugurtha has put it out of my power to deserve any thing at your hands; and has forced me to be burdensome, before I could be useful to you. And yet, if I had no plea, but my undeserved misery, who, from a powerful prince, the descendants of a race of illustrious monarchs, find myself, without any fault of my own, destitute of every support, and reduced to the necessity of begging foreign assistance against an enemy, who has siezed my throne and kingdom; if my unequalled distresses were all I had to plead, it would become the greatness of the Roman commonwealth, the arbitress of the world, to protect the injured, and to check the triumph of daring wickedness over helpless innocence. But, to provoke your vengeance to the utmost, Jugurtha has driven me from the very dominions which the senate and people of Rome gave to my ancestors, and from which my grandfather and my father, with your assistance, expelled Syphax and the Carthaginians. Thus, fathers, your kindness to our family is defeated; and Jugurtha, in injuring me, throws contempt on you.

“Alas! how miserable is my condition! O! father Micipsa! is this the consequence of your generosity, that he whom you raised to an equality with your own children, should become the destroyer of your family? Must, then, the royal house of Numidia always be a scene of havoc and blood? While Carthage remained, we suffered, as was to be expected, every kind of injury and hardship from the hostile attacks of our cruel neighbors; our enemy was near; our only powerful ally, the Roman commonwealth, at a distance. When that scourge of Africa was no more, we congratulated ourselves on the prospect of established peace. But, instead of peace, behold the kingdom of Numidia drenched with royal blood, and the only surviving son of its late king, flying the artful snares of a murderer, who, with astonishing audacity, has killed his cousin, my own brother. No where am I more in danger than in my own kingdom.

“Whither! O, whither shall I fly? If I return to the royal

palace of my ancestors, my father's throne is seized by the murderer. What can I there expect, but that Jugurtha should hasten to imbrue in my blood those hands which are now reeking with my brother's? If I were to fly for refuge, or for assistance, to any other court, from what prince can I hope for protection, if the Roman commonwealth gives me up? My royal father is no more: he is beyond the reach of violence; and out of hearing of the complaints of his unhappy son. Were my brother alive, our mutual sympathy would be some alleviation; but he is hurried out of life in his early youth, by the very hand which should have been the last to injure any of the royal family of Numidia. The bloody Jugurtha has butchered all whom he suspected to be in my interest. Some have been destroyed by the lingering torment of the cross; others have been given a prey to wild beasts, and their anguish made the sport of men more cruel than wild beasts. If there be any yet alive, they are shut up in dungeons, there to drag out a life more intolerable than death itself.

“Look down, illustrious Senators of Rome, from that height of power to which you are raised, on the unexampled distresses of a prince, who is, by the cruelty of a wicked intruder, become an outcast from all mankind. Let not the crafty insinuations of him who returns murder for adoption, prejudice your judgment. Do not listen to the wretch who has butchered the son and relations of a king, who gave him power to sit on the same throne with his own sons. I have been informed that he labors by his emissaries to prevent your determining any thing against him in his absence, pretending that I magnify my distress, and might, as far as he is concerned, have staid in peace in my own kingdom. O! how I wish I could see him, by whose impious violence I am plunged into this depth of calamities, dissembling as I do now. O! that you, and that the immortal gods may at length have a due regard to the sufferings of humanity. Then, indeed, the wretch, who now triumphs in his villainy, after having been tormented with excruciating calamities, will suffer the vengeance due to his impious ingratitude towards my father, his savage cruelty to my brother, and his infamous treatment of myself. O! my brother, forever dear to my heart, torn away from my sight in the prime of life, by the very person bound, by the most sacred obligations, to have sheltered thee from harm. But why lament that thy sufferings are over? Thy death did not deprive thee of the glory of sovereign power, but rather delivered thee from terror, from flight, from exile, and all those

miseries which make life a burden almost too grievous to be borne. I am left an awful spectacle to mankind of the vicissitude and uncertainty of human greatness. Cast headlong from my father's kingdom into this miserable condition of dependence, I am so bewildered that I know not what to do.

"Fathers! Senators of Rome! by your affection for your children, by your love for your country, by the majesty of the Roman commonwealth, deliver a wretched prince from unprovoked injury, and save the kingdom of Numidia, which is your own property, from becoming the prey of violence, usurpation, and cruelty."

Adherbal says, he was informed, that Jugurtha labored by his emisaries to prevent the Romans from determining any thing against him in his absence. And Sallust tells us of the means which he adopted to secure a powerful party to advocate his cause. "He sent ambassadors to Rome with a great quantity of gold and silver, and ordered them, in the first place, to make very rich presents to his old friends, and then, by the same corrupt means, to gain new ones, and to leave nothing undone which the most lavish system of bribery could accomplish." It could not be said, in this instance, "that corruption wins not more than honesty," for, a great change was immediately perceived in the conduct of many of the most influential men in Rome. Jugurtha, whose barbarous conduct had excited a feeling of general indignation, had now many friends and zealous supporters. Some, influenced by an "itching palm," and others, who had received the reward of their dishonesty, labored strenuously, by using their interest with the members of the Senate, that no severe measure should be adopted against him. And though there were some, by whom justice and equity were more regarded than money, who advised that Adherbal should be assisted, and the murderer of his brother punished; the majority of that assembly, formerly so highly extolled by the ambassadors of Pyrrhus, disgraced themselves and their country, by passing over without condemnation the savage atrocity of Jugurtha, and decreeing, that the kingdom should be equally divided between him and Adherbal. Opimius, the murderer of C. Gracchus, was easily won over by the splendid presents of Jugurtha, and, being sent to Africa with other commissioners, he assigned to his wicked patron the richest and most populous division. Jugurtha, now convinced of the truth of what he had heard at Numantia, that every thing could be obtained at Rome by money, immediately declared war against Adherbal, besieged Cirta, his capital, and

put Adherbal to death with cruel torture, after he had surrendered on the sole condition of personal safety.

But, at length, the eloquent indignation of the tribune Memmius had so powerful an effect, that the Senate was obliged to summon Jugurtha to Rome; and he, trusting to the mercenary character of the Senate, and the prætor's pledge for his safe return, appeared in the garb, and with the behavior of a person in distress. The rage of the people was unbounded, and would have put him to death, but Memmius would not suffer the public faith to be violated. Jugurtha was ordered to leave Italy, having, during his residence in the city, procured the murder of Massiva, a descendant of Masinissa. It is said, that when he had left the city, he frequently looked back without saying a word, and, at last, exclaimed, "O! venal city, ripe for destruction, and ready to sell thyself, whenever there shall be found a purchaser."

Cæcilius Metellus was, at last, sent against Jugurtha. Marius and Sylla succeeded Metellus; and the cruel and crafty tyrant was, at length, betrayed by his father-in-law, Bocchus, and he was delivered into the hands of Sylla, after having protracted the war for five years. Marius, on his return to Rome, had a triumph for his conquest of Numidia. The principal ornaments of the procession were Jugurtha and his sons in chains. It is said, that the fallen tyrant appeared like a man out of his senses. When the barbarous spectacle was over, he was thrown into prison, being condemned to be starved to death. The jailors, in their haste to strip him, tore off the tips of his ears, to get the pendants which he wore in them. Six whole days he passed in the dungeon, struggling with famine, and retaining to the last moment an ardent desire of life.

"O, coward conscience! how dost thou afflict me!  
Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh,  
For hateful deeds committed 'gainst my blood.  
I am a villain, and I hate myself.  
My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,  
And every tongue brings in a several tale;  
And every tale condemns me for a villain!  
Perjury, perjury, in the highest degree—  
Murder, stern murder, in the dir'st degree,  
All several sins, all us'd in each degree—  
Throng to the bar, crying all—guilty, guilty."

## CHAPTER XIX.

### CAIUS MARIUS.

The birth of Marius was obscure, and his education wholly in camps, where he learnt the first rudiments of war under the younger Scipio; till by long service, distinguished valor, a peculiar hardiness and patience of discipline, he advanced, gradually, through all the steps of military honor, with the reputation of a brave and complete soldier. The obscurity of his extraction, which depressed him in the estimation of the nobility, enhanced his merits in the regard of the people, who, on all occasions of danger, thought him the only man fit to be trusted with their lives and fortunes: and he confirmed their favorable opinion of his military talents, by twice delivering them from very numerous and powerful enemies, who threatened to overwhelm the Roman commonwealth. At the time of his election to the tribuneship, he had maintained an unexceptionable character. He was known as a skilful officer, a brave soldier, a man of singular assiduity and alacrity in service, of unblemished life, and exemplary sobriety. The opposition which he constantly received from the nobles, their general insolence to the plebeians, their constant violation of the liberties of the people, and, more especially, the contemptuous treatment which he received from the haughty Metellus, under whom he served in Africa, soured his mind, roused his indignation, and hurried him on to the perpetration of those horrible acts of vengeance, which deluged the streets of Rome with blood, and made his name execrable to all posterity.

During his tribuneship he was regarded as a man of inflexible resolution, not to be influenced by fear or respect of persons, and consequently, one that would prove a bold defender of the people's privileges against the Senate. He had the virtue to endanger his popularity by strenuously opposing a proposition for a distribution of corn among the plebeians—an action which gained equal esteem from the judicious among the two parties which divided the State.

Being afterwards appointed to the quæstorship, he usefully distinguished himself in Spain, by making successful efforts to put down the numerous bands of robbers, who, at that time, infested the country. On his return to Rome he earnestly solicited public offices, being anxious to enhance his fame by sharing in the administration of civil affairs. His high spirit, his indefatigable industry, and his plain and unostentatious mode of life, raised him so high in public estimation, that he was elected to various important offices; and he considerably advanced his influence by a matrimonial alliance with the illustrious family of the Cæsars. He married Julia, the aunt of Julius Cæsar.

The Jugurthine war afforded Marius a fine field for the exercise of his military talents. In the rank of lieutenant of Metellus, he signalized his skill and courage by the exertion of all his powers. He neither declined the most difficult service, nor thought the most servile beneath him. Thus, surpassing his equals in prudence and foresight, and the common soldiers in abstemiousness and labor, he entirely gained their affections. "For," as Plutarch observes, "it is no small consolation to any one, who is obliged to work, to see another voluntarily take a share in his labor, since it seems to take off the constraint. There is not indeed a more agreeable spectacle to a Roman soldier, than that of his general eating the same dry bread which he eats, or lying on an ordinary bed, or assisting his men in drawing a trench or throwing up a bulwark. For, the soldier does not so much admire those officers who let him share in their honors or their money, as those who will partake with him in labor and danger; and *he is more attached to one who will assist him in his work, than to one who will indulge him in idleness.*"

By these means, Marius gained the hearts of the soldiers: his glory, his influence, his reputation spread though Africa, and extended to Rome. The men under his command wrote to their friends at home, that the only means of putting an end to the war would be to elect Marius consul. And the ambition of the lieutenant seconded the ardor of his soldiers. Metellus, envious of his reputation, inconsiderately gave a stimulus to the lofty designs of his subordinate officer. "You think, then, my good friend," said he, tauntingly, "to go home to solicit the consulship; will you not be content to stay and be consul with this son of mine?" Marius hastened to Rome, and promised that if elected to the command of the army, he would soon either kill or take Jugurtha alive.

The nobles exerted themselves to the utmost to oppose his election, but on this occasion, all their envious efforts were in vain, for Marius was triumphantly elected through the extraordinary zeal of the plebeians. His indignation was roused against the patricians, and he attacked, Sallust says, at one time, particular persons, and at another, the whole body. He would often boast, that he had wrested from them the consulship as spoil from the vanquished, and he spoke many other things tending to his own glory, but to their bitter mortification. Yet, he devoted himself with unwearied assiduity to the preparations which he deemed necessary for bringing the African war to a successful termination. Nor durst the Senate venture to refuse him any thing which he deemed requisite. They imagined that he would have great difficulty in procuring recruits, as the service was, they believed, generally disliked by the people. But they were much deceived and disappointed. The levies were soon raised ; so great was the attachment of the people, that an eager desire to accompany him prevailed. Marius, on this occasion, is represented by Sallust, as making the following harangue to the Romans :

*Speech of Marius.*

“It is but too common, my countrymen, to observe a material difference between the behavior of those, who stand candidates for places of power and trust, before and after their obtaining them. They solicit them in one manner, and execute them in another. They set out with a great appearance of activity, humility, and moderation : and they quickly fall into sloth, pride, and avarice. It is, undoubtedly, no easy matter to discharge, to the general satisfaction, the duty of a supreme commander in troublesome times. I am, I hope, duly sensible of the importance of the office I propose to take upon me, for the service of my country. To carry on, with effect, an expensive war, and yet be frugal of the public money ; to oblige those to serve, whom it may be delicate to offend ; to conduct, at the same time, a complicated variety of operations ; to concert measures at home answerable to the state of things abroad ; and to gain every valuable end, in spite of opposition from the envious, the factious, and the dissatisfied ; to do all this, my countrymen, is more difficult than is generally thought. And, beside the disadvantages which are common to me, with all others in eminent stations, my case is, in this respect, peculiarly hard ; that whereas a commander of patrician rank, if he is guilty of a neglect, or breach of duty, has his great connexions,

the antiquity of his family, the important services of his ancestors, and the multitudes he has by power gained in his interest, to screen him from condign punishment; my whole safety depends upon myself, which renders it the more indispensably necessary for me to take care, that my conduct be clear and unexceptionable. Besides, I am well aware, my countrymen, that the eye of the public is upon me; and that, though the impartial, who prefer the real advantages of the commonwealth to all other considerations, favor my pretensions, the patricians want nothing so much as an occasion against me. It is, therefore, my fixed resolution, to use my best endeavors, that you may not be disappointed in me, and that their indirect designs against me may be defeated. I have, from my youth, been familiar with toils and with dangers. I was faithful to your interest, my countrymen, when I served you for no reward but that of honor. It is not my design to betray you now that you have conferred upon me a place of profit. You have committed to my conduct the war against Jugurtha. The patricians are offended at this. But where would be the wisdom of giving such a command to one of their honorable body, a person of illustrious birth, or ancient family, of innumerable statues, but of no experience? What service would his long line of dead ancestors, or his multitude of motionless statues, do his country in the day of battle? What could such a general do, but, in his trepidation and inexperience, have recourse to some inferior commander for direction in difficulties, to which he was not himself equal? Thus, your patrician general would, in fact, have a general over him, so that the acting commander would still be a plebeian. So true is this, my countrymen, that I have myself known those, who have been chosen consuls, begin then to read the history of their own country, of which, till that time, they were totally ignorant; that is, they first obtained the employment, and then bethought themselves of the qualifications necessary for the proper discharge of it. I submit to your judgment, Romans, on which side the advantage lies, when a comparison is made between patrician haughtiness and plebeian experience. The very actions, which they have only read, I have partly seen, and partly myself achieved. What they know by reading, I know by action. They are pleased to slight my mean birth; I despise their mean characters. Want of birth and fortune is the objection against me: want of personal worth, against them. But are not all men of the same species? What can make a difference between one man and another, but the endowments



of the mind? For my part, I shall look upon the bravest man as the noblest man. Suppose it were inquired of the fathers of such patricians as Albinus and Bestia, whether, if they had their choice, they would desire sons of their character, or of mine; what would they answer, but that they should wish the worthiest to be their sons? If the patricians have reason to despise me, let them likewise despise their ancestors, whose nobility was the fruit of their virtue. Do they envy the honors bestowed on me? Let them envy, likewise, my labors, my abstinence, and the dangers I have undergone for my country; by which I have acquired them. But those worthless men lead a life of inactivity, as if they despised any honors you could bestow; while they aspire to honors, as if they had deserved them by the most industrious virtue. They arrogate the rewards of activity for their having enjoyed the pleasures of luxury. Yet none can be more lavish than they are in the praise of their ancestors. And they imagine they honor themselves by celebrating their forefathers: whereas, they do the very contrary. For, as much as their ancestors were distinguished for their virtues, so much are they disgraced by their vices. The glory of ancestors casts a light upon their posterity; but it only serves to show what the descendants are. It alike exhibits to public view their degeneracy, and their worth. I own I cannot boast of the deeds of my forefathers; but I hope I may answer the cavils of the patricians, by standing up in defence for what I myself have done. Observe, now, my countrymen, the injustice of the patricians. They arrogate to themselves honors on account of the exploits done by their forefathers, while they will not allow me the due praise for performing the very same sort of actions in my own person. He has no statues, they cry, of his family. He can trace no venerable line of ancestors.—What then? Is it matter of more praise to disgrace our illustrious ancestors, than to become illustrious by our own good behavior? What, if I can show no statues of my family! I can show the standards, the armor, the trappings, which I have myself taken from the vanquished. I can show the scars of those wounds, which I have received in facing the enemies of my country. These are my statues. These are the honors I boast of; not left me by inheritance, as theirs; but earned by toil, by abstinence, by valor, amidst clouds of dust and seas of blood; scenes of action, where those effeminate patricians, who endeavor, by indirect means, to depreciate me in your esteem, have never dared to show their faces.”

Marius prosecuted the war in Numidia with great vigor and success; but the quæstor Scylla in some measure, robbed the consul of the glory of his exploits in Africa, by obtaining, through treacherous means, the person of Jugurtha. Sylla caused a seal to be made, which represented the infamous traitor Bocchus delivering Jugurtha up to him. With this he always sealed his letters, and thus excited in the mind of Marius that feeling of aversion, which, nurtured by a mutual spirit of rivalry and ambition, deluged Rome with the best blood of its citizens. Hooke, however, questions the correctness of this statement, and says, that this dispute, respecting the glory of ending the Jugurthine war, occurred fifteen years afterwards.

At this time, B. C. 102, Rome was surprised by the alarming intelligence, that its northern provinces were invaded by an immense army of 300,000 barbarians, the Cimbri and Teutones, from the Cimbric Chersonesus, (Denmark.) When Marius, (who, during his absence was elected a third time consul,) was appointed to take the command against this formidable host, they had advanced as far as the north of Italy. As to their courage, their spirit, and the force and vivacity with which they made an impression, they may be compared to a devouring flame. Nothing could resist their impetuosity; all that came in their way were trodden down, or driven before them like cattle. Many considerable armies and generals, employed by the Romans to guard the Transalpine Gaul, were shamefully routed.

Marius preserved the strictest discipline in the army; he trained his soldiers to labor while upon the road; accustomed them to long and tedious marches, and compelled every man to carry his own baggage, and provide his own victuals. The barbarians having passed on to Spain, Marius returned to Rome, where he was again elected consul, after having for some time affected to decline the honor. Being informed that the enemy was returning, he passed the Alps with the utmost expedition, and encamped near Aquæ Sextia, not far from the mouths of the Rhone.

At length, this devastating multitude approached the Roman army, and, with terrible cries, defied them to battle; but Marius declined the challenge. To accustom his troops to the fierce countenances and hideous noises of the barbarians, he posted his men successively in different corps, upon the ramparts of the camp; whence they had a full view of the enemy, who not only ravaged the country round about, but frequently insulted

the Romans in their intrenchments. The soldiers having, by familiarity with these objects of terror, begun to despise them, and having their resentment inflamed by their insolence, murmured against the general, for not allowing them to attack their insulting foes. Pleased with the ardor of his troops, he told them, that he only waited for the oracles to declare the time and place in which to commence the attack. These oracles were two vultures, that he had tamed; and which he used to let loose about the camp at the time that he deemed proper for beginning an engagement, their appearance being considered a good omen; and a Syrian woman, who was esteemed a prophetess. She wore a large purple mantle fastened with clasps, and bore in her hand a spear wrapped round with bunches of flowers, and was carried about the camp in a litter. Great honors were paid to her, and Marius never sacrificed without her orders.

The barbarians, having in vain attempted to force the Roman camp, resolved to march on towards Italy. They passed very near the intrenchments, and with insolent raillery, asked the soldiers, if they had any messages to send to their wives. Marius followed the enemy, and on the following morning, the Roman soldiers were attacked by a small number of the barbarians, near Aquæ Sextiæ, on the banks of the river. On hearing the noise made by the skirmish, 30,000 of the Ambrones rushed forth, regulating their march by the sound produced by striking their arms at regular intervals; and, all keeping time with the tune, they came on crying out, "Ambrones! Ambrones!" The Ligurians, who advanced to the attack, re-echoed the words, so that the whole field resounded with the name; and the officers on both sides joining in it, and striving which should pronounce the words loudest, added, by this means, to the courage and impetuosity of the troops. The enemy, in crossing the river, were thrown into disorder, and before they could form again, they were completely routed. The Romans, having gained the opposite banks, pursued the fugitives to their camps; where they were assailed by the women with swords and axes, gnashing their teeth with rage, and discharging their fury upon their husbands, (whom they called traitors,) and upon the Romans. They laid hold of the Roman shields, endeavored to seize the swords with their naked hands, and obstinately suffered themselves to be hacked to pieces.

Yet, myriads of the barbarians remained unconquered. The night was passed in dread and perplexity. A cry was heard

from the enemy all night, not like the sighs and groans of men, but like the howling and bellowing of wild beasts. The neighboring mountains, and the hollow banks of the river, returned the sound, and the horrid din filled the whole plains. The Romans felt the impressions of terror, and Marius himself was filled with astonishment at the apprehensions of a tumultuous night engagement. But, the barbarians did not advance, and two days passed before the battle was renewed. The Teutoni, at length, seeing the Romans drawn up for an attack, rashly ascended the hill on which they were posted, and sustained a complete defeat. More than 100,000 were killed or taken prisoners.

Marius selected the most splendid arms for his triumph; the rest he ordered to be piled together as an offering to the gods. The army, crowned with laurel, stood around the pile, and Marius, in a purple robe, and with a torch in his hand, was advancing to kindle the enormous and magnificent compilation; and he had just lifted up both his hands to heaven, when horsemen, riding at full speed, were seen approaching. Profound silence and eager expectation ensued. The messengers leaped from their horses, and the whole air rang with acclamations, and the clang of armor at the joyful tidings, that Marius was elected consul for the fifth time.

We are told, that the Massilians walled in their vineyards with the bones which they found in the field; and that the rain which fell the winter following, (it is observed, says Plutarch, that extraordinary rains generally fall after great battles, an observation made many centuries before the invention of gunpowder,) soaking in the moisture of putrefied bodies, the ground was so enriched, that it produced the next season a prodigious crop.

But, while Marius was enjoying the glory of this scene of destruction, Catullus was unfortunate in his efforts to defeat the Cimbri. Marius descended quickly into Italy, and posted his army behind the Athesis, (Adige.) These barbarians held their enemies in contempt. To show their strength and courage they exposed themselves without clothing to the showers of snow; and having pushed through the ice and deep drifts, to the tops of the mountains, they put their broad shields under them, and slid down, regardless of the broken rocks and vast slippery declivities. When they had encamped near the river, and taken a view of the channel, they determined to fill it up. They tore up trees by the roots, and broke off massy rocks, and rolled huge heaps of earth, to dam up the current. The

barbarians assaulted and took the fortress from the Romans ; but, admiring the bravery of the garrison, that had behaved in a manner suitable to the glory of Rome, they dismissed them upon certain conditions, having first made them swear on a brazen bull. These barbarians set an example of generous humanity to the Romans, which they had not the virtue to imitate. The country around being at present without defence, the Cimbri spread themselves over it, and committed great depredations.

Marius, being called home, refused to accept a triumph, till the war was terminated. When his army, which was summoned from Gaul, arrived, Marius, joined by Catullus, drew up the forces in order of battle. He lifted up his hands toward heaven, and vowed a hecatomb to the gods, and Catullus promised to consecrate a temple to the fortune of that day. In the meantime, the Cimbri moved on like a vast sea. But their numbers, (their phalanx was three miles deep) were unavailing against the strict discipline of the Roman legions. The greatest part of the enemy's troops were cut to pieces. The Romans drove the fugitives to their camp, where they found the women standing in mourning by their carriages. In a state of frantic despair, the Cimbrian women killed, indiscriminately, the fugitives, whether their husbands, brothers, or fathers. They strangled their little children, and threw them under the wheels, and the horses' feet; and afterwards killed themselves.

At Rome, the people, on the night they received the news of the victory, began their suppers with libations to Marius as to a divinity. They styled him the third founder of Rome.

But the ambition of Marius was not satisfied with all the victories he had achieved, and all the glory he had acquired.

“Glory is like a circle in the water,  
Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself,  
Till, by broad spreading, it disperse to naught.”

Had Marius, at the end of his fifth consulate, expired, he would have been denominated a second Camillus, and his name would have been handed down to posterity, as one of the most celebrated heroes of antiquity.

During the war with the Cimbri and their allies, the slaves in Sicily again broke out into rebellion. It appears, that the king of Bythinia refused to send any recruits to the Roman army, on the plea, that many of his subjects had been forcibly carried into slavery, by those who farmed the revenues of the

Republic in the east. The complaint appearing to the Senate to be well grounded, they passed a decree, that no freemen of the Roman allies should, in any province, be treated as slaves; and that the pro-consuls and prætors should takē care, that all such as had been injuriously forced into slavery should be set free. In obedience to this decree, many slaves were liberated; but the prætor, at length, influenced by the rich men of the island, refused to listen to any more applications, and treated with great harshness those who had recourse to him for redress. Resenting this violation of the decree of the Roman Senate, the slaves had recourse to arms, and gained several victories over the Roman troops. But, after fighting with great bravery many battles, they were at last subdued with dreadful slaughter. It is said, that in this and the former servile war in Sicily, 1,000,000 slaves were destroyed.

Marius took an active part in the factious disputes of the forum, and eagerly solicited the votes of the people for a sixth election to the consulship. He practised the most servile condescensions, assumed an air of gentleness and complaisance which was contrary to his nature, and did not scruple to obtain the suffrages of the people with money, and to make honesty subservient to ambition. The intrepid firmness, which he displayed in battle, forsook him in the assemblies of the people; and the least breath of praise or disapprobation disconcerted him in his address.

Elected consul for the sixth time, he soon lost, in the administration of civil affairs, the well merited popularity which he had acquired in the field. The whole year of his consulship was a year of confusion and tumult. By stooping to the low artifices of the demagogue, by associating with some of the most abandoned and turbulent citizens of Rome, and by his malignant enmity to Metellus, whose contemptuous expression, hastily uttered many years before, still rankled in his heart, he lost the respect of all the virtuous members of the commonwealth. This distinguished warrior, so lately regarded as the saviour of his country, had now the bitter mortification to feel that he was slighted by the people, and odious to the nobility; and when the edict for the recall of Metellus was passed, in opposition to his strenuous exertions, he withdrew to Asia Minor on pretence of performing a religious vow. Incapable of making any figure in peace, and unversed in political knowledge, he saw that all his greatness arose from war, and that in a state of inaction, the lustre of his name would altogether fade away. He therefore studied to raise new wars, and with this

view, paid a visit to Mithridates, king of Pontus, who had reduced many of the neighboring kingdoms of Asia to subjection.

This politic king received Marius with great respect, but was not a little surprised, when, in the course of conversation, the Roman warrior said to him, "You must take your choice; either yield implicitly to every thing that a Roman governor prescribes, or expect every ill that the power of Rome can inflict." Having gained the knowledge he desired, he returned to Rome, but found that his popularity had not revived during his absence; and not venturing to stand for the censorship, an office to which his ambition aspired, he declared, that he did not choose to offend the people by a strict search into their lives and conduct.

He built a house near the forum, either for the convenience of his clients, which was the reason assigned, or because he hoped to have a greater concourse of people at his gate. In this, however, he was mistaken. He had not those graces of conversation, that engaging address, which others were masters of; and therefore, like a mere implement of war, he was neglected in time of peace. The preference given to Sylla mortified him exceedingly, because he regarded him as a rival in the field; and also because Sylla was rising rapidly by means of the envy of the patricians towards himself. When Bocchus, now king of Numidia, erected in the Capitol some figures of victory, adorned with trophies, and placed by them a set of golden statues, which represented him delivering Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla, Marius burst forth into the most vehement expressions of resentment.

## CHAPTER XX.

### SYLLA—MARIUS—ITALIAN WAR—WAR WITH MITHRIDATES.

Lucius Cornelius Sylla was of a Patrician family, and was the sixth in descent from Rufinus, who was expelled the Senate for having in his house more than ten pounds of plate. It is said, that he derived his name from his complexion, which was a deep red, interspersed with spots of white, an appearance that heightened the ferocity of his aspect. His eyes were of a lively blue, fierce and menacing. His person was elegant, his air noble, his manners easy, and apparently sincere. He was the slave of dissipation, but still more the slave of ambition. In his youth, he spent much of his time with common mimics and hireling dancers; and went along with them into every excess of riot. And, when in the height of his power, he would sometimes withdraw from business of consequence to the licentious orgies of players and buffoons, in whose society he cast off all reserve, appeared on a footing of equality, and accommodated his conversation to their low wit and raillery. Yet, on some occasions, he assumed a grave and austere manner; and he was capable of the severest application, when the occasion demanded it. He was conversant with all the literature of the age, and was the patron of the arts and sciences. He was eloquent, liberal, crafty, insinuating; a profound master of dissimulation. He stooped to flatter the prejudices and passions of the meanest soldier and the lowest of the people, and accommodated himself to the humors, pursuits, and opinions of all by whom his interest might be promoted. But when success rendered dissimulation and affability no longer necessary, his public deportment manifested a spirit of insatiable ambition, of unrelenting cruelty, and stern revenge. Plutarch says, he was rapacious in a high degree, but still more liberal; in preferring or disgracing whom he pleased, equally unaccountable; submissive to those who might be of service to him, and severe to those who wanted services from him: so that it is difficult to say, whether he was more insolent or servile in his nature.



Such was his inconsistency in punishing, that he would sometimes put men to the most cruel tortures on the slightest grounds, and sometimes overlook the greatest crimes; he would easily take some persons into favor after unpardonable offences, while he took vengeance on others for small and trifling faults.

B. C. 90. The Italian States, being refused the freedom of Rome, entered into a confederacy to obtain it by force of arms. This war, which is called the Social or Italian war, was carried on for three years with great fury and doubtful success. At last, several of the States obtained their request, and finally, each nation of these allies obtained the freedom of Rome, successively, upon laying down its arms. In this war Marius and Sylla were both engaged; the former seems not to have reaped any fresh laurels, and is accused of being extremely slow, irresolute, and inactive; while Sylla, who had formerly distinguished himself in the Jugurthine and Cimbrian wars, exhibited extraordinary skill, energy, and valor.

In these fiercely contested engagements, more than 300,000 men are said to have been killed; a dreadful sacrifice of human life, which the people of Rome justly attributed to the insolent injustice of the Patricians, in refusing the reasonable request of the Italian States.

The Romans now declared war against Mithridates; and a violent contest arose between Marius and Sylla (now elected consul) for the command of the expedition. Either by lot or appointment, it was assigned to Sylla; but Marius, assisted by the violent tribune Sulpicius, proposed that the conduct of the war should be transferred to himself, who was now seventy years old. Sulpicius surrounded himself with a guard of 3,000 men, which he called the anti-senate. This man publicly sold the freedom of the city to strangers and freedmen; and he proposed many laws very offensive to the Senate. To defeat these projects, the consuls proclaimed holidays, which lasted a long time, during which it was not lawful to assemble the comitia. The Senate having refused to revoke the edict concerning the holidays, Sulpicius and his party drew their daggers, pursued the consuls Sylla and Pompeius, and murdered the son of the latter. Pompeius was deprived of his office, and Sylla having escaped the same fate only by revoking the obnoxious edict, left the city and joined his army in Campania. Marius being now tumultuously appointed to command the expedition against Mithridates, two officers were sent to Sylla to order him to deliver up the army. These ambassadors

the soldiers immediately murdered; and Marius, in revenge, put to death many of Sylla's friends in the city, and confiscated their effects. Sylla marched his troops to Rome, and set fire to many of the houses. The party of Marius, after a vigorous resistance, was defeated, and the victorious Sylla obtained a decree from the Senate, which banished Marius, his son, Sulpicius, and nine of their adherents; and he, by edict, set a price upon the heads of the exiles, and confiscated their estates. Of all the Senators, Q. Mucius Scævola was the only man who refused to concur in the vote; and when Sylla endeavored to terrify him by menaces, he boldly answered, "Although you should threaten me with death, and give me up to those soldiers, with whom you have surrounded the Senate-house, you shall never persuade me, for the sake of a life now exhausted to the dregs, to pronounce Marius an enemy, who has saved Italy and Rome."

Sulpicius, being taken through the treachery of his slave, was put to death, and his head fixed upon the rostra. To reward the slave, Sylla gave him his freedom; and, to punish his treachery, caused him to be thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. The violence of Sylla strengthened the party of Marius, and at the election of certain magistrates, the people rejected the nephew of the consul, and chose two of the candidates, whom they thought the most objectionable to him. On this occasion, this great dissimulator affected to display a contemptuous indifference, and said, "He was quite happy to see the people by his means enjoy the liberty of proceeding as they thought proper." But he endeavored to ingratiate himself with the people; and proposed Lucius Cinna, who was of the Marian faction, for consul, having, however, first obtained from him, on oath, that he would support his interest. Cinna went up to the Capitol with a stone in his hand, and publicly swore to be the friend of Sylla, adding this imprecation, "If I be guilty of any breach of this alliance, may I be driven from the city as this stone is from my hand." Cinna, however, was as destitute of principle as the consul himself, and as well practised in the arts of dissimulation. As soon as he had entered on his office, he gave proof of his insincerity by raising commotions in favor of Marius; and, for this purpose, distributed an immense sum of money amongst the citizens. On the day when the comitia met to determine concerning a proposal for dispersing the new citizens among all the tribes, the two parties, each headed by a consul, had a desperate engagement in the forum, and 10,000 of the new citizens, it is said, were slain.

Sylla, waiting for a more favorable opportunity to carry his ambitious views into effect, set out for his province; and Cinna, defeated in Rome, made a progress through many parts of Italy, raising money for the expenses of this civil war, and soliciting the allies to join his party. The Senate deprived him of his consular office; and Merula was appointed the colleague of Octavius.

Marius, who had, for six successive years, filled the highest office of the commonwealth, an honor which no one had before attained, was now a fugitive, wandering about to escape the eager search of mercenary wretches, longing to obtain the price set upon his head. He, who was so lately on the pinnacle of human glory,

“That did pluck allegiance from all men’s hearts  
Loud shouts and salutations from their mouths  
Had his great name profaned with their curse.”

Coasting the shore of Campania, after having endured many hardships, and escaped many dangers, being on two or three occasions almost in the hands of his pursuers, he was left by the sailors, who had saved his life, on the strand. Thus deserted by all the world, he sat for some time observing the waves, in silent stupefaction. At length, summoning courage from despair, with much difficulty he rose, and walked in a disconsolate manner through wild and devious places; till, by scrambling over bogs and ditches full of water and mud, he came to the cottage of an old man, who worked in the fens. He threw himself at his feet, and begged him to save and shelter a man, who, if he escaped the present danger, would reward him far beyond his hopes. The cottager told him, “That his hut would be sufficient, if he wanted only to repose himself, but if he was wandering about, to elude the search of his enemies, he would hide him in a place much safer and more retired.” The great Marius then concealed himself in a hollow place by the river, and was covered with a quantity of reeds.

But not deeming this place secure, as he heard a party loudly threatening the old man for having concealed the enemy of the Romans, he quitted the cave, and, having stripped himself, plunged into the bog. But he was discovered, dragged from his place of concealment, and taken before the magistrates of Miturnæ. Proclamation had been made through all the towns, that a general search should be made for Marius, and that he should be put to death wherever he was found. It was

determined to enforce the cruel edict. No citizen would undertake the office; but a dragoon, either a Gaul or a Cimbrian, went up to him, sword in hand, with an intent to despatch him. The chamber in which he lay was somewhat gloomy, and a light gleamed from the eyes of Marius, which darted on the face of the assassin; while, at the same time, he heard a stern voice, saying, "Hast thou the audacity to kill Marius?" The barbarian, dismayed, instantly ran away, and throwing his sword before the people, cried out, "I have not the power to kill Marius." The people of Minturnæ relented, and they determined "to let the exile go, and await his destiny in some other region." "It is time," they said, "that we should deprecate the anger of the gods, for having intended to put to death the preserver of Italy." He was conducted to the sea coast; he found a vessel provided for him, and, having very narrowly escaped death on the shores of Sicily, he, at last, landed in Africa.

The Roman governor, unwilling to be the executioner of so great a man, but afraid to afford him shelter, sent an officer to command him to leave the province. Marius, upon hearing this, was struck dumb with grief and indignation. He uttered not a word for some time, but stood regarding the officer with a menacing aspect. At length, the messenger asked him, what answer he should carry to the governor. "*Go, (said he,) and tell him that sent thee, that thou hast seen Caius Marius, an exile, sitting on the ruins of Carthage.*"

"I seek

This unfrequented place to find some ease,  
Ease to the body some, none to the mind,  
From restless thoughts, that like a deadly swarm  
Of hornets arm'd, no sooner found alone,  
But rush upon me thronging, and present  
Times past, what once I was, and what am now."

"The Desolator desolate!

The victor overthrown!

The arbiter of others' fate,

A suppliant for his own.

The triumph, and the vanity,

The rapture of the strife —

The earthquake voice of victory,

To thee the breath of life.

All quell'd! Dark spirit! what must be

The madness of thy memory."

The exile again put to sea, and having coasted about the greater part of the winter, he, at last, met with his son on the Numidian shore. Having heard that Cinna was still in arms, waging war against the government, they proceeded to Italy, and began to raise soldiers. Cinna invited Marius to join his party, gave him the title of pro-consul, and sent him the badges of authority. But Marius, affecting the character of an injured man, would not accept these honors. From the day that he fled from Rome, he had worn an old robe, and neglected his person, and walked with slow steps, like a man oppressed with calamities; but, through the disguise of his doleful countenance, a fierce and determined purpose was discerned, that rather created terror, than moved compassion. Many of the soldiers of the consul Octavius joined Cinna. Liberty being proclaimed by Cinna, to all the slaves in the city, who should join him, they flocked to him in crowds. The Senate, in a state of great alarm, proposed terms of accommodation; but no satisfactory answer was returned. They sent new deputies to Cinna, acknowledged him consul, and required no other condition of peace, than an oath, not to put any of the citizens to death. He refused to swear, but gave his promise, that none should be slain without his knowledge, or consent. Marius was standing next to Cinna's tribunal, but he did not speak; his countenance, however, too clearly betrayed the revengeful passions which agitated his whole frame.

Shortly after this conference, Cinna entered Rome, surrounded with soldiers; but Marius stopped at the gate, and affected to wait for the reversal of the decree of his banishment. The people accordingly assembled; but, before the votes were all taken, he entered the city with a band of 4,000 slaves. The gates were instantly shut, that none might escape; and a dreadful scene of carnage ensued, as if the city had been taken by assault. Many Senators of the first consideration became the victims of his vengeance. Antonius, the most celebrated orator of Rome, was slain, and his head fixed on the rostra; the consul Octavius was murdered on his tribunal, and Ancharius, of prætorian rank, coming to pay his respects to the tyrant, was struck dead by the guards, because Marius took no notice of him. After this act, these assassins considered themselves privileged to murder any man in the street, whose salutation Marius did not return. Cinna's revenge seemed to abate, but the fury of Marius was insatiable. His appetite for slaughter was sharpened by indulgence. Every town and road was full of assassins, pursuing and

hunting the friends of Sylla. And, on this dreadful occasion, it was found, that no rights of hospitality, no obligations of friendship, were of avail to protect the opposite party; for, there were, says Plutarch, very few who did not betray those that had taken refuge in their houses. There is one instance of fidelity that merits notice; and it may be presumed, that even amidst the general corruption of morals, which luxury had introduced, there were many more who retained some sense of moral principle. The slaves of Cornutus concealed their master in the house, and took a dead body out of the street, and hanged it by the neck. They put a gold ring on the finger, and showed the corpse to the executioners of Marius, as that of their master; after which, they performed the funeral rites. Cornutus was safely conveyed by these servants into Galatia.

Marius was elected consul for the seventh time; and, in the midst of these murders, he assembled the people, recounted his late sufferings, and told them, that being now restored to his dignity, it should be still his principal care to preserve that courage and virtue which he had never lost.

Many of the nobles fled to Sylla, who was then in Greece, and was returning to Rome with his victorious army. Marius, unprepared to resist his formidable rival, was violently agitated by the conflicting passions of resentment, envy, and perhaps of remorse. He endeavored, but in vain, to quiet his violent emotions, by indulging in intemperance; and, in his seventy-first year, a pleuretic fever put an end to his miserable existence.

The death of Marius did not deliver the corrupt and wretched city from assassinations. Young Marius inherited the implacable spirit of his father, and many of the nobility became the victims of his vengeance and suspicion. Italy was convulsed by the strife of contending factions. Cinna declared himself consul for the third time, and took for his colleague Papirius Carbo. A deputation went to Sylla, entreating him to have compassion on his country, and hasten to Rome to deliver the city and Italy from their tyrants. But his answer, threatening implacable revenge, filled many with dismay, and roused multitudes to take up arms in their own defence. Through the great misconduct of the generals, these forces were every where defeated. Pompey, afterwards styled the Great, signaled himself in this war as the adherent of Sylla. Cinna, in the mean time, was killed in a tumult, and young Marius succeeded him; but he was soon afterwards defeated and assassinated.

At this period of general commotion, Telesinus, a Samnite officer of great experience in war, projected the total destruction of the city. He walked through the ranks of the army, and cried out, "The last day of Rome is come. The city must be razed to the ground. Wolves will never be wanting to prey upon the liberties of Italy, till the wood in which they shelter themselves is cut down." Sylla encountered the Samnites, and sustained a defeat. When he saw his soldiers giving way, he took out of his bosom a little image of Apollo, (which he had stolen from the temple of Delphi, and always carried with him to the field of battle,) and kissing it with great earnestness, expostulated with the god for deserting him before the gates of his native city. Crassus, however, defeated the left wing of the army of the Samnite general, and finally destroyed him and his troops.

The enemy being thus dispersed, and young Marius being slain, Sylla marched to Rome, taking along with him 8,000 prisoners. These men he shut up in a public building; and, whilst he was addressing the Senate, the soldiers, according to his orders, began the work of destruction by the murder of the prisoners. Their cries and lamentations alarming the Senators, he sternly ordered them to attend to his address, as the noise was caused merely by the punishment of some seditious men. The Romans now experienced, that the savage cruelty of the stern Marius was much exceeded by the fiendish malignity of his successor, who in the midst of his murders, made a mock at the blood which he was shedding. It seemed as if

"Some ruling fiend hung on the dusky air,  
And scatter'd ruin, death, and wild distraction  
On all the wretched race of man below."

The streets of Rome were filled with slaughter, in execution of his declared purpose, not to spare a single person who had borne arms against him. In the general consternation, one of his friends had the courage to say, "With whom do we propose to live, if, in war, we kill all who are in arms, and in peace all who are unarmed?" And C. Metellus asked Sylla in the Senate-house, "What end there was to be to these calamities?" and added, "We do not petition you to spare such as you have determined to destroy, but to quiet the apprehensions of those whom you intend to save." The monster answered, "that he was not certain whom he should leave alive." He was then desired to mention the persons whom he had doomed to death. Sylla, on the following day, caused to be fixed up in a public place an edict, with a list of the names of eighty persons,

whom he had proscribed. A reward of two talents was offered for each head; the estates and effects of the condemned were confiscated, and their children and grand-children declared incapable of holding any office in the State; and death was denounced against those who entertained or saved the proscribed.

The number of the proscribed amounted to 4,700; but the number of the slain much exceeded this amount. Assassins roamed all over Italy, searching for the favorers of Marius. The rich were the greatest sufferers, as avarice whetted the thirst of vengeance. The notorious Cataline exhibited, during this period of massacre, the shocking depravity to which a mind of the first order of intellect may be reduced, when uncontrolled by religious and moral principle. Having caused Gratidianus (who had been twice prætor, who had promulgated a law against the adulteration of the coin, who had statues erected to him in all quarters of the city, and before which incense had been offered) to be whipped through the streets, to be dragged to the tomb of Catullus, to have his legs broken, his eyes put out, his hands and ears cut off, he decapitated him groaning under his sufferings, carried his head to Sylla in the forum, and then washed his bloody hands in the lustral water, that was at the door of Apollo's temple. A Senator, who witnessed this horrible transaction, was put to death for fainting away.

The celebrated Julius Cæsar was forced to leave the city to save his life. The Vestal Virgins, and several of the chief men of Rome, earnestly entreating that he might be saved, Sylla answered, "You have prevailed; but know that he, whom you so eagerly wish to save, will one day prove the ruin of the party, whom you and I have been defending. You have no penetration, if, in that boy, you do not see many Marius's."

Many of the towns of Italy were razed to the ground, and most of the inhabitants massacred. All the Samnites he put to death, or banished.

"Alas! poor country,  
Almost afraid to know itself. It cannot  
Be called the mother, but the grave; where nothing,  
But who knows nothing, is once seen to smile;  
Where sighs, and tears, and shrieks that rend the air,  
Are made, not mark'd; where violent sorrow seems  
A modern ecstasy; the dead man's knell  
Is there scarce ask'd for whom; and good men's lives  
Expire before the flowers in their caps;  
Dying or e'er they sicken."



Both consuls being dead, and the time for the election of new magistrates approaching, Sylla left Rome, and went to his camp, whence he wrote to Valerius, advising him to propose to the people the creation of a dictator, for an unlimited term; and intimated that, with their approbation, he would burden himself with the care of doing the Republic that service. Sylla was, of course, appointed to the despotic office for an unlimited time; all his acts were approved; and the lives and fortunes of all the members of the Roman commonwealth were placed under his absolute control. B. C. 81.

After the elections, the dictator made his triumphal entry into Rome, on account of his conquest in the east. The procession, which lasted two days, was adorned with the richest spoils of Asia. The principal ornament of his triumph was a long train of Senators, and other eminent citizens, who followed his chariot, calling him their father and preserver. After this degrading procession, Sylla proceeded to make many important alterations in the constitution, in which the power of the Senate was much increased, and the authority of the tribunes, the only safeguard of public liberty, was nearly annihilated.

In his distribution of the spoils, as the confiscated estates were called, he manifested his licentious propensities. A whole city, and even a province, were given to abandoned musicians, players, women, and the most worthless freedmen.

Having now become absolute master of the Roman world; having a Senate made up of his own creatures; and having attained every thing which the most criminal and soaring ambition and avarice pant after; having imbrued his hands in the blood of thousands of his fellow creatures; to the astonishment of mankind, he unostentatiously abdicated his sovereign power, which he had possessed for less than three years, challenged a critical examination of his administration, and retired to his country house, to give unrestrained indulgence to his vicious appetites and passions. The companions of his retirement were the basest and most licentious of the populace; yet, with great inconsistency, a portion of his time was devoted to literary pursuits, and he composed twenty-two books of memoirs concerning himself. His gross intemperance hastened his end; and he concluded his flagitious life with an act of barbarous revenge, having caused, the day before his death, a person to be strangled in his presence. He died of a most loathsome disease, in the 60th year of his age, and the second of his abdication, having vainly endeavored to drown the stings of conscience and remorse by continual intoxication. It is not

easy to account for Sylla's abdication. It proves, however, that the attainment of his most aspiring hopes could not give any rest or satisfaction to his mind. He experienced that all was vanity and vexation of spirit. He sought for ease, but he sought in vain; and, actually preferred a state in which he could give uninterrupted indulgence to his brutal appetites, to all the power, consideration, and boundless wealth of the dictatorship.

To attain the envied situation of power, the candidates for fortune too frequently abandon the paths of virtue; for, unhappily, the road which leads to the one, and that which leads to the other, lie sometimes in very opposite directions. But, the ambitious man flatters himself, that, in the splendid situation to which he advances, he will have so many means of commanding the respect and admiration of mankind, and will be enabled to act with such superior propriety and grace, that the lustre of his future conduct will entirely cover, or efface, the foulness of the steps by which he arrived at that elevation. In some instances, the candidates for the highest stations can set the laws at defiance; and, if they can attain the object of their ambition, they have no fear of being called to account for the means by which they acquired it. They often endeavor, therefore, not only by fraud and falsehood, the ordinary and vulgar arts of intrigue and cabal; but sometimes by the perpetration of the most enormous crimes, by murder and assassination, by rebellion and civil war, to supplant and destroy those who oppose or stand in the way of their greatness. They more frequently miscarry than succeed; and commonly gain nothing but the disgraceful punishment which is due to their crimes. But, though they should be so lucky as to attain that wished for greatness, they are always most miserably disappointed in the happiness which they expect to enjoy in it. It is not ease or pleasure, but always honor, of one kind or another, though frequently an honor very ill understood, that the ambitious man really pursues. But the honor of his exalted station appears, both in his own eyes and in those of other people, polluted and defiled by the baseness of the means through which he rose to it.

Though, by the profusion of every liberal expense; though, by excessive indulgence in every profligate pleasure, the wretched, but usual, resource of ruined characters; though, by the hurry of public business, or by the prouder or more dazzling tumult of war, he may endeavor to efface, both from his own memory, and from that of other people, the remembrance of what he

has done; that remembrance never fails to pursue him. He invokes in vain the dark and dismal powers of forgetfulness and oblivion. He remembers himself what he has done, and that remembrance tells him, that other people must likewise remember it. Amidst all the gaudy pomp of the most ostentatious greatness; amidst the venal and vile adulation of the great and of the learned; amidst the more innocent, though more foolish, acclamations of the people; amidst all the pride of conquest and the triumph of successful war, he is still secretly pursued by the avenging furies of shame and remorse; and, while glory seems to surround him on all sides, he himself, in his own imagination, sees black and foul infamy fast pursuing him, and every moment ready to overtake him from behind.

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**MITHRIDATES.** — During the civil commotions, caused by the rivalry and ambition of Marius and Sylla, the Romans were engaged in war with the celebrated Mithridates, king of Pontus. This war lasted about twenty-six years; it began B. C. 89, and ended on the death of Mithridates, B. C. 62.

Mithridates VII, surnamed the Great, succeeded to the throne at eleven years of age. B. C. 123. During his minority, his tutors attempted to destroy him; and his life being in constant danger from poison, he was in the practice of using antidotes, by which, it is said, he acquired a constitution that was proof against the most baneful drugs. But the historians who relate this circumstance betray their credulity and their ignorance; for, though some drugs will neutralize the effects of poison after it is taken, yet, the practice of taking antidotes would destroy the constitution.

He applied to the study of medicine, and became so vain of his knowledge of this important science, that his courtiers, in order to give him an opportunity of displaying his skill, sometimes purposely cut and burnt various parts of their bodies. He, at an early period, inured his frame to every kind of hardship, and spent whole months in the open air in the country, braving the severity of winter, and resting on the cold earth, or frozen snow. He was not, says Justin, on the approach of winter engaged in convivial entertainments, but in the field; not in recreation, but in manly exercises; he did not seek the society of boon companions, but he studied to excel those of his own age in riding, in running, and wrestling. The first acts of his reign were the murder of his guardians, his brother, and his mother. He

subdued a great part of Scythia, all Colchis, and the adjoining countries; and obliged the Thracians, the Bastarnæ, the Sarmatæ, and all the nations of the Tanais, the Palus Mæotis, and at the mouth of the Danube, to enter into alliance, and afford him recruits for his army. Subsequently, he gained over to his interest, under the able conduct of Archelaus, the Achæans, the Lacedemonians, the Athenians, Bœotians, and other people of the states of Greece. He subdued the island of Delos, which had revolted from Athens, slew 20,000 of the inhabitants, and plundered the temple of Apollo: the Cyclades also were brought in subjection to his power.

The enterprises of Mithridates in Cappadocia produced an open rupture between him and the Romans. Three Roman officers opposed Mithridates with the troops levied in some of the kingdoms of Asia Minor. The forces of the king of Pontus were greatly superior, and amounted to 250,000 foot, 40,000 horse, and 130 armed chariots. His fleet consisted of 400 ships of war, well manned and provisioned. The Romans were defeated, two of their generals were taken, and Aquilius, who was regarded the chief author of the war, was led about by Mithridates, either bound on an ass, or coupled with a public malefactor, and compelled to proclaim to the crowds who came to see him, that he was Manius Aquillus, the Roman legate. Having been publicly whipped and tortured, melted gold was poured down his throat.

The conqueror was every where received with acclamations of joy, as the deliverer of Asia from the tyranny of the Romans. The inhabitants flocked to him in white garments, and saluted him as their father, their deliverer, their god, the great and sole lord of Asia. Determined on extinguishing the Roman power in the east, he sent private letters to all the governors and magistrates of the cities where the Romans resided, enjoining them, on pain of death, and the entire destruction of their country, to cause all the Italian race, including women and children, to be murdered on the 30th day from the date of his letters, and to let their bodies lie unburied in the open streets. On the fatal day, all the gates of the cities being shut, and the avenues guarded, the king's orders were proclaimed, and a scene of horror and massacre ensued. All the sanctuaries of the gods were disregarded, and men, women, and children were torn from the statues and the altars, and put to death. More than 80,000 Romans became the victims of the decree of this dreadful tyrant.

It was now his intention to invade Italy; but his pride soon

received a humiliating blow from Sylla, who obtained the command of the expedition, which Marius was so anxious to undertake. The Roman general arrived in Greece with only five legions and some Italian cohorts, a force very disproportionate to the immense army of his skilful and victorious opponent. But he received supplies of men and money from Ætolia and Thessaly; and the Bœotians submitted to him with the same readiness they had declared for Mithridates. Sylla advanced to attack the Piræus, the port of Athens. To enable him to build towers and engines for carrying on the siege, he cut down the sacred woods about Athens, and the trees of the fine walks, belonging to the academy and the Lyceum. He kept 20,000 mules constantly employed for the service of the engines. He sent to the council of the Amphictyons, then assembled at Delphi, to desire them to let him have the riches of Apollo's temple; and he gave a vague promise, that if he should be obliged to make use of them, he would return the value. The person sent to bring the treasure, being unwilling to violate the temple, and desirous to deter Sylla from this profanation, wrote to inform him, that the sound of Apollo's lyre had been heard from the sanctuary. But the Roman general, whose religion was subservient to his ambition, replied, that music was a sound of joy, and not of anger, and that, therefore, he might, without impiety, bring away the treasures. The Amphictyons did not venture to make any opposition; and the consecrated treasures of the temples of Jupiter and Æsculapius in Olympia and Epidaurus were also appropriated by the impious pro-consul.

During the siege of the city, the pioneers of the two parties not unfrequently met and fought under ground, whilst Sylla was engaged in sapping the walls. The city was now in the utmost distress for want of provisions. The priestess, who attended the sacred lamp, which fed the perpetual fire in Minerva's temple, sent to him for a little oil, to keep in the flame, but he scornfully refused her request. The deputation of priests and senators, he instantly drove back with blows.

The city was, at length, taken, and the soldiers, by his command, put to the sword all whom they met, without any distinction of sex or age. The blood flowed out of the gates. When the vengeance of this monster was satiated, he condescended to listen to the urgent importunity of the Roman senators in his camp for mercy, and said, that "he pardoned the living for the dead."

After this event, Sylla twice defeated the immense armies

of Mithridates; but, as his presence at Rome was necessary to promote his interests, he listened to terms of accommodation. The peace, however, was not of long continuance; and, after the death of Sylla, Lucullus was appointed to conduct the Mithridatic war. The king of Pontus was defeated in several bloody engagements. But Lucullus had the mortification to witness the mutiny of his own troops, and to be dispossessed of the command by Pompey. This great general pursued Mithridates to the river Euphrates; and, attacking him by night, ordered all his trumpets to sound at once, and all his soldiers to raise one united shout. This device so much alarmed the enemy, that they immediately fled, and lost 10,000 men. Mithridates was reduced to continue his flight with only three companions. Among these was a faithful female slave, who, habited and armed like a trooper, rode by his side in all his battles, accompanied him in all his expeditions, and in all his flights.

Mithridates fled to Tigranes, the powerful king of Armenia, but this monarch refused an asylum to his father-in-law, whom he had before supported with all the collected forces of his kingdom. Mithridates, however, found a safe retreat among the Scythians; and, though destitute of power, friends, and resources, he meditated the destruction of the Roman empire by penetrating into the heart of Italy by land. These wild projects were rejected by his followers, and he sued for peace; but Pompey refused to receive any propositions, unless they were delivered by the king himself. Mithridates resolved to conquer or die; but his subjects revolted, and elevated his unnatural son, who had always been his favorite child, to the throne. Mithridates, who now experienced the instability of power, and the misery of restless ambition, sent some of his guards to seize the prince; but he was deserted at his utmost need, and he heard the cry, "We want a young king, not an old one." He came out of the city to remonstrate with them on their treason, but the soldiers who accompanied him offered their services to the rebels. Having, with difficulty, made his retreat, he sent many several messengers to his son, to ask permission to be allowed to retire to some place of safety; no answer, however, to his humble supplications was returned. The miserable tyrant, reduced to the extremity of distress, (for no misery can exceed that experienced from filial ingratitude,) imprecated the severest vengeance on his execrable son. "O, ye gods, the avengers of fathers, if it be true that you exist, and if there be justice in heaven, grant that Pharnaces may,

one day, hear his sentence of death pronounced by his children."

He called some of his officers and guards, who had proved faithful to him, and having praised their generosity, ordered them to repair to their new king. This miserable object, who, notwithstanding all his heinous crimes, almost excites our compassion, retired to his apartment, distributed poison to his wives and daughters, and then administered a dose to himself; but, as it did not operate quickly, he had recourse to his sword. As his faltering hand did not inflict a fatal stroke, he called to a Gallic officer, who, at the head of some rebels, had forced the walls of his castle, and implored him, to do the kind office of saving him from the shame of falling alive into the hands of the Romans, and being led in triumph. And thus perished the once mighty king of Pontus; another warning example of the miserable and fatal consequences of unprincipled ambition.

"If more be wanting on so plain a theme,  
Think on the slippery state of human things,  
The strange vicissitudes, and sudden turns  
Of war, and fate recoiling on the proud,  
To crush a merciless and cruel victor.  
Think there are bounds of fortune, set above;  
Periods of time, and progress of success,  
And none can push beyond."

## CHAPTER XXI.

### SERTORIUS.

B. C. 76. Quintus Sertorius, a celebrated Roman general, first distinguished himself in the campaign under Marius, against the Teutones and Cimbri. When Marius and Cinna entered Rome, and rendered themselves infamous by their cruelties, he expressed great concern at the murder of so many of his fellow countrymen; and endeavored, but with little effect, to stay the hand of the executioners. Proscribed by Sylla, he fled for safety into Spain, where he acted with so much address, humanity, and valor, that he was universally revered and beloved by the Lusitanians, and established a senate, over which he presided with the consular authority, regardless of the government of Sylla and his merciless faction. In affability, clemency, generosity, and military valor, he was not surpassed by any of his eminent contemporaries.

Of his honorable character he exhibited a memorable proof, in this period of almost universal depravity, in the advice which he gave to Cinna, who hesitated whether he should receive Marius, whom he had invited to join his party in their counsels. Though Sertorius had strongly opposed the alliance, yet, as soon as he was informed that the exile had been invited by Cinna, he said, "I imagined that Marius had come of his own accord into Italy, and pointed out to you what in that case was most expedient for you to do: but, as he landed upon your invitation, you should not have deliberated a moment, whether he was to be admitted or not. You should have received him immediately. True honor leaves no room for doubt and hesitation."

When he was convinced that Sylla would firmly establish his party in Rome, he hastened to Spain, hoping that, by prudence and valor, he might succeed in establishing for the present an independent government, and have the power of affording a refuge and protection to the destined victims of relentless tyranny. When he came to a mountain pass, the barbarians



insisted that he should pay toll. His attendants were indignant at this demand, and wished to force a passage; but he, disregarding the imagined disgrace, said, "*Time was the commodity he purchased, than which nothing in the world can be more precious to a man engaged in great attempts.*" He found the country very populous, and abounding in youth fit for arms; but, at the same time, the people, oppressed by the avarice and rapacity of former governors, were unfavorably disposed to the Roman yoke. To remove this feeling, he endeavored to conciliate the wealthy by his affable and obliging manners, and the people by lowering the taxes. And, to relieve them from the oppression and annoyance of having his soldiers quartered upon them, he compelled his men to pass the winter in tents without the walls, himself setting them the example.

No captain of his age surpassed him in personal bravery, boldness of enterprize, and vigor of execution. He understood the art of gaining the confidence and affection of his soldiers; he liberally rewarded merit; he reluctantly punished faults, but, at the same time, preserved strict discipline; he set the example of cheerfully supporting the fatigue of long watching, wearisome marches, and all the hardships incident to a life spent in camps. He never drank to excess, and always "lived according to the sober laws, and holy dictate of spare temperance."

His valiant success in the field of battle raised his reputation so high, that he was called a second Hannibal; yet, this great man did not scruple to promote his interests by the unworthy artifice of abusing the superstitious credulity of the people, by means of a milk-white hind, which he so completely tamed, that it was attentive to his voice, and followed him wherever he went. He represented that this tractable animal was a present from the goddess Diana, and had discovered to him many important secrets. If he had any private intelligence of a victory gained by his officers, he brought the fawn into the presence of the people, crowned with flowers; and bade them rejoice and sacrifice to the gods for the good news which they would soon receive.

But nothing contributed more towards his gaining the esteem and affection of the principal men of the nation, than the care which he took of the education of their children. He appointed masters to instruct them in the language and arts of the Greeks and Romans. Their parents beheld with delight their sons, clothed in robes bordered with purple, walking regularly every day to the public schools; and they regarded with

much admiration his superintendence of their studies. For, he not only paid the expense of their education, but he visited the public seminaries; he himself examined the pupils, and also particularly attended to the qualifications of the teachers. He excited a spirit of general emulation, not merely by favoring with the expression of his approbation those who improved to the best of their ability the advantages which they possessed; but also by distributing amongst them the golden bulla, the ornament worn by the children of the richer class at Rome, with permission to suspend it at their breasts.

The great attention which Sertorius paid to education is, indeed, worthy of all admiration; and it is ardently to be wished, that his example was assiduously imitated. The continuance of the liberal institutions of this country depends on the attention which is paid to the education of the rising generation. Ignorance and liberty are incompatible with each other. Amongst a rude, uneducated people, liberty would soon degenerate into licentiousness and anarchy, and terminate in military despotism.

Men are qualified for civil liberty, in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their own appetites; in proportion as their love of justice is above rapacity; in proportion as their soundness and sobriety of understanding is above their vanity and presumption; in proportion as they are more disposed to listen to the counsels of the wise and good in preference to the flattery of knaves. Society cannot exist unless a controuling power upon will and appetites be placed somewhere, and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordered in the eternal constitution of things, that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters.

“Alas! what differs more than man from man?  
And whence this difference? Whence but from himself?  
For, see the universal race, endowed  
With the same upright form! The sun is fixed,  
And the infinite magnificence of heaven,  
Within the reach of every human eye:  
The sleepless ocean murmurs in all ears;  
The vernal field infuses fresh delight  
Into all hearts. Throughout the world of sense,  
Even as an object is sublime or fair,  
That object is laid open to the view  
Without reserve or veil; and as a power

Is salutary, or its influence sweet,  
Are each and all enabled to perceive  
That power, that influence, by impartial law.  
Gifts nobler are alike vouchsafed to all;—  
Reason,—and, with that reason, smiles and tears;  
Imagination, freedom of the will,  
Conscience to guide and check; and death  
To be foretasted,—immortality presumed.  
Strange, then, nor less than monstrous might be deemed  
The failure, if the Almighty, to this point  
Liberal and undistinguishing, should hide  
The excellence of moral qualities,  
From common understanding leaving truth;  
And virtue, difficult, abstruse, and dark;  
Had to be won, and only by a few:—  
Strange, should he deal herein with nice respects,  
And frustrate all the rest! Believe it not:  
The primal duties shine aloft, like stars;  
The charities that soothe, and heal, and bless,  
Are scatter'd at the feet of man, like flowers.  
The generous inclination, the just rule,  
Kind wishes, and good actions, and pure thoughts—  
No mystery is here; no special boon  
For high, and not for low—for proudly graced,  
And not for meek in heart. The smoke ascends  
To heaven as lightly from the cottage hearth  
As from the haughty palace. He whose soul  
Ponders its true equality, may walk  
The fields of earth with gratitude and hope;  
Yet, in that meditation, will he find  
Motive to sadder grief, when his thoughts turn  
From nature's justice to the social wrongs  
That make such difference betwixt man and man.  
Oh! for the coming of that glorious time,  
When prizing knowledge as her noblest wealth,  
And best protection, this great Commonwealth,  
While she exacts allegiance, shall admit  
An obligation on her part, to teach  
Them who are born to serve her and obey;  
Binding herself by statute to secure  
For all the children whom her soil maintains,  
The rudiments of letters, and to inform  
The mind with moral and religious truth,

Both understood and practised — so that none,  
However destitute, be left to droop,  
By timely culture unsustained, or run  
Into a wild disorder; or be forced  
To drudge through weary life, without the aid  
Of intellectual implements and tools;  
A savage horde among the civilized,  
A servile band among the lordly free.  
This right — as sacred, almost, as the right  
To exist and be supplied with sustenance  
And means of life — the lisping babe proclaims  
To be inherent in him, by Heaven's will,  
For the protection of his innocence;  
And the rude boy, who knits his angry brow,  
And lifts his wilful hand, on mischief bent,  
Or turns the sacred faculty of speech  
To impious use — by process indirect  
Declares his due, while he makes known his need.  
This sacred right is fruitlessly announced,  
This universal plea in vain addressed,  
To eyes and ears of parents, who themselves  
Did, in the time of their necessity,  
Urge it in vain; and, therefore, like a prayer  
That from the humblest floor ascends to heaven,  
It mounts to reach the State's parental ear;  
Who, if, indeed, she owns a mother's heart,  
And be not most unfeelingly devoid  
Of gratitude to Providence, will grant  
The unquestionable good.—  
The discipline of tyranny is unknown  
Amongst us,—hence the more do we require  
The discipline of virtue;—order else  
Cannot subsist, nor confidence, nor peace.  
Thus, duties rising out of good possessed,  
And prudent caution needful to avert  
Impending evil, do alike require  
That permanent provision should be made  
For the whole people to be taught and trained:—  
So shall licentiousness and black resolve  
Be rooted out, and virtuous habits take  
Their place; and genuine piety descend,  
Like an inheritance, from age to age."

Sertorius, notwithstanding the extraordinary affection and respect which the Spaniards expressed for him, preserved to the Romans all the superiority to which they had been accustomed. Of the proscribed senators, who had taken refuge with him, and of the principal persons of the same party, he formed a senate, consisting of three hundred; and he affirmed that this was the real Roman senate, and that the other at Rome, was only an assembly of Sylla's slaves. Out of this senate he chose quæstors, lieutenants, and other commanders, imitating, as much as possible, the government of the Commonwealth.

He was a sincere patriot; and so earnestly desirous was he of returning to his country, that frequently, when his affairs were most prosperous, (never when in a declining state,) he offered to lay down his arms, on condition that he might be suffered to live as a private citizen at home: and, he declared, that he would rather be the most obscure citizen in Rome, than an exile, even though he could have under his dominion the whole universe.

The Spaniards, on one occasion, flushed with success, were impatient of the caution which Sertorius deemed necessary. Deaf to his remonstrances, and eagerly bent on attacking the enemy, he at last yielded to their impetuosity, hoping that they might receive an important lesson from their rashness. The event corresponded with his anticipations. The Spaniards would have sustained an entire defeat, had he not, with extraordinary skill, covered their retreat. Despondency succeeding presumption, he revived their drooping spirits, and impressed a useful lesson by the following singularly ridiculous expedient. Having assembled his forces, he ordered two horses to be brought in the midst of them, one lean and old; the other large and strong, with a fine flowing tail. By the former was stationed a man of diminutive size and contemptible appearance; and by the latter a man of majestic stature and robust frame. Each being ordered to pull off the hairs from the tails of these horses, the strong man immediately grasped the whole tail of his horse, and pulled with all his athletic strength, hoping to strip it off at once; but all his efforts were in vain, and he at last desisted; the little puny fellow set deliberately and coolly to work; plucking out with great application hair after hair, until there was not one left. This scene took place amidst shouts of laughter. The Spanish soldiers forgot their late discomfiture; and whilst they were wondering at the meaning of this comical performance, their affable and kind-hearted

general, impressed upon their minds an important practical lesson. "You see, my friends and fellow citizens," he said, "how much greater are the effects of perseverance, than those of force; and that there are many things invincible in their collective capacity, and in a state of union, which may gradually be overcome, when they are once separated. In short, perseverance is irresistible. By this means, time attacks and destroys the strongest things upon earth. Time is the best friend and ally of those who have the discernment to use it properly, and watch the opportunities it presents; and the worst enemy to those who will rush into action when it does not call them."

When Sertorius carried on the war against Metellus, his success was, by many, imputed to the old age and inactivity of his opponent. But when Pompey had passed the Pyrenees, and Sertorius drove him, who was never before beaten, with dishonor from the field, he was considered the greatest general of the age. Pompey wrote to Rome, and said, "I have not only exhausted my estate, but my credit; I have no resource but in you: if you fail me, I give you notice, that my army and the war itself will soon be in Italy."

Metellus affected to speak of the great Sertorius with contempt, and styled him Sylla's fugitive, and his followers the fragments of Carbo's shipwreck; but his real feelings were expressed by the unbounded joy which he manifested after obtaining a small and temporary advantage over this distinguished general. By his command, he was saluted imperator by his soldiers, altars were erected and sacrifices offered to him in the cities through which he passed; choirs of men and maidens sang hymns to his praise, little figures of victory were made to descend, and, in the midst of artificial thunder and lightning, crowns were put on his head. Magnificent entertainments followed, and his person was clothed with the robe of triumph.

Four armies were found insufficient to crush, or even to weaken, the power of Sertorius. His authority was deeply fixed in the affections of the people, who had the happiness to live under his government. But the friend and favorite of the Lusitanians was exposed to the dangers which attend greatness. Envy does merit as its shade pursue. Perpenna, one of his officers, who was jealous of his fame, and uneasy under the authority of a superior, formed a conspiracy to deprive the world of its most distinguished ornament and benefactor. Sertorius, highly gratified with the false tidings which he had

received of an important victory, (a deception practised by the conspirators to enable them to accomplish their foul and ungrateful plot,) performed a sacrifice of thanksgiving to the gods, at the conclusion of which he was urgently invited by Perpenna to an entertainment. At all suppers and entertainments at which Sertorius was present, he insisted on the strict observance of sobriety and modest deportment. But at this entertainment, the conspirators, by their riotous and dissolute demeanor, excited the indignation of the general, and he turned upon his couch to avoid being a witness of their gross misconduct. Perpenna, at this moment, took a cup full of wine, and let it fall. This was the signal concerted for the execution of their fell purpose. The conspirators rushed upon Sertorius, and with many stabs put him to death.

The account which Plutarch gives of the cruel conduct of Sertorius towards the parents of the children whom he had educated with so much care, appears not to rest on any good authority. It is probably, as Hooke suggests, the fabrication of some aristocratic party writer.

The conduct of Pompey, after the defeat of Perpenna, is deserving of high commendation. The traitor, hoping to conciliate the favor of his conqueror, put into his hands the papers of Sertorius, containing many letters from men of consular dignity in Rome, who had invited Sertorius into Italy. Having collected all these letters, and other papers of the late governor of Spain, he burnt them without reading them himself, or allowing any other person to become acquainted with their contents. The traitor and his accomplices met the fate which they so well deserved, lest they should mention the names of those who wrote these letters, and thence new seditions and troubles should arise.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### SPARTACUS — CATILINE.

The dictatorship of Sylla extinguished the expiring liberty of Rome. From this period, the Commonwealth was perpetually distracted by the ambitious projects of eminent individuals, some of whom, indeed, professed a zealous regard for the principles of civil liberty, but few, if any, were actuated with a sincere desire to restore to the people the rights and privileges, of which they had been defrauded and despoiled. The history of Rome, from this period to the establishment of the imperial government under Augustus, presents us with a confused and perplexed series of conspiracies, wars, massacre, and devastation; notwithstanding which, the dominion of Rome was rapidly extended by conquests in the north, west, east, and south. Britain, Gaul, part of Germany, Syria, Judæa, and Egypt, and all the isles of the Mediterranean were added to the provinces of Rome; which was, during all the civil commotions, the centre and the source of power,—the heart of the enormous Briareus, whose fifty heads watched over, and whose hundred arms seized, the treasures, and grasped the strength, of all the kingdoms of the civilized world. Volumes might be filled with the history of the transactions of this period; and those who derive any satisfaction from dwelling upon scenes of carnage, may have their unnatural propensity gratified in tracing the steps of Pompey, Lepidus, Crassus, Cæsar, Antony, Cassius, Brutus, and Octavius. In this abstract of the history of Rome, the military transactions of this troubled period will be very slightly sketched.

B. C. 72. Whilst Rome was rejoicing at the termination of the Spanish war, an unexpected danger suddenly assailed her from the alarming insurrection of a wretched class of men, who were devoted to furnish her cruel and depraved taste for bloody entertainments with the highest enjoyment she experienced. Spartacus, the gladiator, with eighty of his associates, who were kept at Capua, and trained to shed their blood for the



amusement of the Roman people, contrived to effect their escape; and such was the unsettled State of Italy, that, in a short time, he was surrounded with an army of 10,000 men; and, after several advantages gained over their enemies, the number of his followers amounted to 70,000. Spartacus successively defeated the two Roman consuls; and at the funeral pile, which he raised after the battle, (it was a common practice to honor the manes of the dead with combats of gladiators,) he retaliated the cruel injuries which his class sustained, by compelling more than 300 of his prisoners, probably of the first rank, to fight round this pile, for the amusement of himself and fellow gladiators. The feelings of savage triumph, which they experienced in the gratification of their revenge, may be easily imagined; and certainly, this act of fit retributive justice could not, with propriety, be condemned by the moralists of those days.

At length, Crassus was sent against this formidable enemy, distinguished for his talents, as well as his courage. Had the army of Spartacus duly supported their general, and been willing to submit to strict military discipline, it is probable, that, under his able and vigorous conduct, they might have taken possession of the capital of the civilized world, have placed a gladiator in the consular chair, and emancipated the many thousand wretched beings, who were sadly trained, in every part of the Roman commonwealth, to afford sport to the citizens of Rome. But, at last, after a desperate and bloody engagement, the gladiators were completely defeated. Spartacus behaved with great valor. When wounded in the leg, he fought on his knees, covering himself with his buckler in one hand, and using the sword with the other; and when at last he fell, he fell upon a heap of Romans, whom he had sacrificed to his vengeance. In this battle no less than 40,000 of the rebels were slain, and the war was finished.

There is still preserved a most valuable monument of ancient sculpture, which is reckoned one of the choicest relics of antiquity — the dying gladiator; remarkable for the representation of beauty, expression, and attitude; and which shows the inimitable art, that the ancient sculptors possessed, of animating marble, and giving it almost every expression of life.

“I see before me the Gladiator lie:  
He leans upon his hand — his manly brow  
Consents to death, but conquers agony,  
And his droop'd head sinks gradually low —  
And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow  
From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,

Like the first of a thunder-shower: and now  
The arena swims around him — he is gone,  
Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hail'd the wretch who won.

“He heard it, but he heeded not — his eyes  
Were with his heart, and that was far away.  
He reck'd not of the life he lost, nor prize,  
But where his rude hut by the Danube lay,  
There were his young barbarians all at play,  
There was their Dacian mother — he, their sire  
Butchered to make a Roman holiday —  
All this rush'd with his blood. Shall he expire,  
And unavenged? Arise! ye Goths, and glut your ire.”

CATILINE was of an illustrious family: he was not only a man of great vigor of body and mind, but also of a disposition extremely profligate and depraved. From his youth he took pleasure in civil wars, massacres, depredations, and intestine broils. His body was formed for enduring cold, hunger, and sleeplessness to a degree almost incredible; his spirit was daring, subtle, inconstant, capable of the most profound dissimulation, covetous of other persons' property, lavish of his own, and eager in the indulgence of his passions: he had a considerable share of eloquence, but little real wisdom. His insatiable mind was always bent on projects that were unreasonable, incredible, and far beyond his reach.

After the tyranny of Sylla, he was possessed with an uncontrollable desire of seizing the reins of government; nor, had he the least scruple with respect to the means of accomplishing his ambitious purpose. The consciousness of his crimes and his poverty, which he had rendered more desperate by the vicious practices I have mentioned, gave him no rest by day or by night. And the very corrupt morals of the city, debased by luxury and avarice, vices of the worst description, though opposite to each other, encouraged him to prosecute his design.

Rome now presented a remarkable contrast to Rome in the vigor of youth, and under the guidance of the spirit of liberty. How great was then the ardor of its citizens in the pursuit of true glory. Valor was esteemed wealth, true honor, and nobility. Good morals were cultivated at home and abroad. A spirit of perfect harmony and disinterestedness prevailed. Justice and equity were not then the forced production of the laws, but the natural fruits of a free and uncontaminated mind. Quarrels, dissensions, and disputes were reserved for the public

enemy: their only contests amongst each other were a generous emulation to excel in virtuous actions. Magnificent in their offerings to the gods, they were frugal in their domestic expenses, and faithfully observant of the duties of friendship. Brave in war, equitable in peace, they advanced the interests of the Republic, and promoted their own welfare. In those days of genuine patriotism, few were the instances in which men rendered themselves subject to punishment by abandoning their standards, or deserting their posts; but, almost the only instances of military correction were examples of impetuous bravery, too eager to encounter the enemy, or of undaunted and invincible fortitude, which remained in the field of battle after a retreat was sounded. Then the administration of public affairs, during peace, was regulated rather by an appeal to the principle of gratitude and affection than of fear; and injuries were rather forgiven than punished.

Such is the representation given by Sallust. The picture is perhaps a little too highly colored, but the following account is confirmed by facts, and the testimony of contemporary writers. Fortune, at length, began to exert her malice, and threw every thing into confusion. When sea and land lay every where open to her power, ease and riches, the great objects of pursuit, depressed and ruined those, who had, without right, undergone toils and hardships, and every vicissitude of affairs. First, a love of money, then, an eager desire of power took possession of their minds; and these passions were the source of all the evils that followed. Avarice subverted fidelity, honesty, and every virtuous principle; and substituted pride, cruelty, irreligion, and venality. Ambition introduced insincerity; and the tongue ceased to be the interpreter of the mind. Friendship and enmity were regarded not according to their real nature, but merely as they tended to promote self-interest; and men were more anxious to regulate the expression of the countenance, than to mould the heart after the true image of virtue. The corruption of the moral principle took place by degrees, and was occasionally restrained by salutary discipline. But, at length, the infection spread like a plague; the State was entirely changed, and the government, that had been administered with justice and equity, became cruel and intolerable.

At first, the mind of the community was tainted more by ambition than avarice, which is a vice that has nothing akin to virtue: but ambition — the desire of glory, power, and preferment, may actuate the mind of the good as well as the

wicked. The virtuous man, however, advances his aspirations after honor and dignities in the path of rectitude ; but, the man destitute of principle, uses all the artifices of treachery and deceit. Avarice is engrossed in the pursuit of riches, which no truly wise man ever eagerly desires to acquire. This vice, as if imbued with deadly poison, enervates both soul and body; it is not restrained by any limits ; it is always insatiable, and in the midst of affluence, as well as in a state of poverty, its restless desires are unbounded.

When riches, at length, began to be highly prized, and glory, dignities, and authority followed in their train; virtue languished, poverty was deemed a disgrace, and a spirit of uncompromising integrity was denounced as the characteristic of an unsocial, envious, and malignant disposition. Thus luxury, avarice, and pride, the natural effects of riches, took entire possession of the minds of the Roman youths ; they indulged in rapine and prodigality: they slighted their own possessions, and coveted the property of others; they held in contempt modesty and chastity; they made no distinction between things human and divine; and utterly disregarded all the dictates of prudence and moderation.

Our ancestors graced the temples of their gods with the sincere offerings of devotion, and their houses with personal glory. But, now, the houses of the Romans resembled the magnificence of cities ; now mountains were levelled by private citizens, and the sea itself was encroached upon, and made the site of splendid structures. Riches were squandered for mere amusement, in the most wanton manner, instead of being used as the means of rational gratifications. Men and women were immersed in the sink of the grossest licentiousness. The sea and land were ransacked to afford dainties for their tables. They indulged in sleep before they were weary; they eat before they were hungry; drank before they were thirsty; and carefully avoiding exposure to cold, and guarding against all fatigue, they anticipated, by luxurious indulgence, all the wants of nature. This boundless licentiousness prepared the minds of young men, who had wasted their fortunes, to commit the most heinous crimes.

In a city so corrupt, men of the most profligate and seditious character would easily meet with many abettors of the most criminal enterprizes ; and Catiline soon numbered in the list of his partizans many men of rank, and a great number of persons of all classes and ages. Sallust says, "There were several noblemen engaged in this conspiracy, and almost all

the youth of quality, favored his undertaking. His object was to murder the consuls, to set fire to the city, and, amidst the general consternation, to seize the reins of government." His project appears to have been very ill digested: his passionate enmity to Cicero, in particular, seems to have hurried him on to disregard all the dictates of caution.

In one of his addresses to the conspirators, he said, "Is it not better to die in a brave attempt, than to drag a wretched and infamous life; and to lose it at last shamefully, after having been the sport of other men's insolence. But I take the gods and men to witness, that success is in our hands; our bodies and minds are in full vigor: but, they are on the decline in every respect, oppressed with years, and enervated by luxury. We have only to make the attempt; every thing conspires to favor our effort. Who, that has the spirit of a man, can endure with patience that they should have a superfluity of riches, which they sink in the deep, to lay the foundations of their splendid edifices; which they squander in levelling mountains, while we are destitute of the common necessities of life; that they should be continually extending their sumptuous palaces, while we have not a home for a comfortable refuge; that although they are constantly purchasing pictures, statues, curiously chased vessels, pulling down new houses, and building others; that while they are dissipating wealth by every means, which boundless extravagance can suggest, yet, they are unable, by all the arts of profusion, to exhaust their vast accumulations. As for us, we have debts abroad, and poverty at home: our condition is bad, our expectations much worse. What then remains to us but a life of wretchedness? Awake, arise, or be forever fallen. Behold, at last, before your eyes, liberty, glorious liberty, which you have so often earnestly panted for! Behold in her train, riches, honor, glory, all spread before your eyes! Fortune has now placed all these blessings before the victors. But what need of words; the present conjuncture and opportunity, the dangers to which you are exposed, the poverty you suffer, the glorious spoils of war, all urge you on to this noble enterprise. As for myself, employ me either as your general, or a common soldier; my whole soul and body are at your service. I trust, that in the high capacity of consul, I shall co-operate with you in this glorious undertaking; unless, forsooth, my mind deceives me; and you are disposed to prefer subjection to command."

To satisfy the anxious inquiries of the conspirators, Catiline promised an abolition of their debts, the proscription of the

rich, places of honor and emolument, plunder, and all the spoils and gratifications, which successful war lays open to the rapacity of the victors.

It is asserted, though Sallust says without sufficient evidence, that, after his speech, he administered an oath to his associates, that he offered them a bowl of human blood mixed with water, which they all tasted, as a solemn pledge of fidelity.

The plot was divulged by an abandoned woman, the companion of one of the conspirators; but, as so many persons of rank were concerned in it, and its ramifications so widely spread, it was necessary to proceed with great caution in counteracting the insidious designs of the party, and bringing the criminals to justice. The peculiar danger in which the State was placed, required the direction of a man of consummate ability, of great experience, of untiring vigilance and circumspection; and also one practised in all the arts of oratory. And, happily for Rome, that man was found in Cicero; who, at this critical period, offered himself a candidate for the consulship. The discovery of the alarming conspiracy made the people anxious to elect this most illustrious orator, who had already passed through the offices of edile and prætor, and gained golden opinions from the justice and moderation which he had exercised in Sicily, as quæstor. Being what was called a "novus homo," (a new man, the first of his family who had attained to the honors of the State, though the son of a Roman knight,) the nobility regarded his pretensions with envy and indignation; and thought that the consulship would be sullied, if he should obtain it. But when danger impended, their envy and pride were silenced.

The election of Cicero was a serious blow to the conspirators. "All hope excluded thus," Catiline was roused to the utmost activity. He provided magazines of arms in all the most convenient places of Italy. Great numbers of all ranks joined his party; many women also entered zealously into his plans. By their means he hoped to gain their husbands, and to induce the slaves of Rome to set fire to the city. In the number of these women was one of the name of Sempronia, of a masculine spirit, who had often been engaged in many daring and hardy enterprises. She was of a good family, of great personal attractions, and was highly favored by fortune in her husband and children. She was well instructed in Greek and Roman literature, had much wit, was a poetess, could accommodate her conversation to any subject, and had attained all the accomplishments of that refined age. Yet, with all her intellectual

qualities, she was utterly devoid of the graces of moral beauty: modesty and virtue were completely despised. Of her reputation, she was as careless as of her wealth. She had often violated her faith, perjured herself to avoid paying her debts, and she had been concerned in murders. Such is the character, given by Sallust, of one of the distinguished women of the age.

Catiline was equally active in adopting measures to secure the city in his interests; but, the object at which he particularly aimed, was the life of Cicero. The other consul, Octavius, was not unfavorably disposed to the conspirators, although his colleague had quieted his restless spirit, by giving him the choice of the two provinces, which were allotted by the Senate to the new consuls. Catiline and his followers, contrary to law, went about armed. Impatient of delay, thirsting for vengeance, he was busily occupied day and night; he was always on the watch, he was constantly intent on prosecuting his design, he lived almost without sleep; and yet, he was indefatigable under all his multifarious schemes and actions.

Manlius, in the mean time, was actively engaged in Etruria, in exciting the people to take up arms; and there were numbers of banditti, and persons fired with resentment in consequence of the injuries which they had sustained from the tyranny of the various factions at Rome, who were disposed heartily to join in any insurrection. Being deprived of all their possessions, a revolution might benefit, but could not injure them.

Cicero, seriously alarmed at the intelligence of the progress of the conspiracy, the particulars of which were communicated by Fulvia, laid the whole plot before the Senate, which (as was usual in cases of extreme danger) passed the decree, "That the consuls should take care, that the State suffered no detriment." Thus invested with sovereign authority, he raised forces to oppose Manlius in the field; and exerted all his arbitrary power to collect positive and undeniable evidence of the guilt of the conspirators. The whole city was now in a state of alarm; no place was thought secure; no person fit to be trusted; every one measured the public danger by his private fears. The women raised their suppliant hands to heaven; "every feeble rumor shook their hearts;" and laying aside their pride and their pleasures, became anxious for themselves and their country. Yet, Catiline, with astonishing audacity, came into the Senate-house, and took his seat, as one unjustly suspected, and anxious only to clear his character from calumnious aspersions. On this occasion, Cicero, unable to contain

his indignation, burst forth into a torrent of eloquent invective, which electrified the Senate, and almost overwhelmed the traitor. "Catiline, how long do you purpose to abuse our patience? How long will your madness outbrave our justice? To what length will your unbridled audacity hurry you on? The nightly guard on the Palatine hill, the strict watch of the city, the consternation of the citizens, the firm bond of union among all good men, the Senate assembled in the impregnable Capitol, the indignant looks of the Senators — these, — have not these, the power to change your traitorous designs? Do you not perceive that your plans are detected? that a deep conviction of your conspiracy is fixed in the minds of all here assembled? Can you now imagine that any one of us is unacquainted with your proceedings last night, and the night before? that he does not know where you met, and what party you convoked? Oh! the degeneracy of the age! and the corruption of our manners! The Senate knows his evil practices; the consul sees them: and yet, he lives! Lives! did I say? Nay, more! he comes into this august assembly; he participates in our councils, and deliberately selects with his cruel eye the victims of his murderous malice. Yet, we, forsooth, magnanimous counsellors of the State, congratulate ourselves as discharging our duty, if we escape the violence of this wretch!

"Catiline, the consul should long ago have ordered you to be led to execution, and to receive those torments which you have, for some time past, been contriving for us. \* \* Yet, this act of just retribution, circumstances induce me to defer. You shall be put to death, but not until there will not remain a single person, so much a traitor, so much a villain, so much a Catiline, who will not acknowledge the justice of the punishment. So long as there exists one, who dares to defend you, you shall live; but live as you now do, surrounded by my numerous and faithful guards, who will deprive you of all power to disturb the peace of the State. Many shall be the eyes, and many the ears, which, unperceived by you, as they have hitherto been, shall observe all your actions, and prevent your evil designs." \* \*

No translation can convey, to one unacquainted with the original, any adequate idea of the spirit and the eloquence of this oration. The principal object of this orator was to convince Catiline that all his steps were tracked, and all his counsels reported; and thus to urge him to leave the city, and appear openly in arms. There were many who affected to believe



that Catiline was innocent, and that Cicero was actuated by mere personal feelings.

As soon as Cicero had finished his invective, which concludes with an urgent appeal to the traitor to leave the city, (Cicero was afraid at present to banish him,) Catiline rose with downcast looks and a suppliant voice, and begged the Senators not to believe the charges which the consul had made against him; and stated, that his former conduct was a guarantee for his innocence; and that it was not credible, that he, one of the Patrician order, should desire to overthrow the constitution, while a new man was zealous to support it. Proceeding to indulge in invectives against Cicero, the Senate suddenly interrupted him with cries of "traitor, parricide." Catiline, in a violent passion, cried out, "Since I am thus assailed, and driven on headlong by my enemies, I will quench the flame kindled around me, by the destruction of my adversaries."

Having in the heat of the moment betrayed himself, he could no longer remain in the city; and thus his fury accomplished what the eloquence of Cicero tried in vain to effect. He left Rome at midnight, after having urged his associates to assassinate the consul, to set fire to the city, and to make preparations for a general massacre. He promised, that he would soon return from the camp of Manlius at the head of an irresistible army.

Catiline's expectations of success were not without foundation; for Sallust says, that the conspirators and their accomplices were not the only disaffected persons; the whole body of the populace, desirous of a revolution, approved of Catiline's design. The Roman people were become extremely degenerate from several causes: all those who were noted for wickedness and violence, such as had squandered their fortunes in riot and extravagance, and all that were driven from their native country on account of their crimes, flocked to Rome from all quarters as to a common sewer. Moreover, all who were of any party different from the Senate, would rather that the commonwealth should be thrown into confusion, than that they should remain without power.

After the tribunitial authority was restored, under the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, certain young men of vigorous age and active spirits, having acquired that high dignity, began to inflame the populace by inveighing against the Senate, and by largesses and flattering promises obtained great reputation and power. All the nobility exerted their utmost efforts against them, apparently with a view of supporting the grandeur of

the Senate, but, in reality, of advancing their own private interests. In short, all who raised commotions in the State in those days under the plausible pretext of asserting the rights of the people, or increasing the authority of the Senate, in every instance affecting to be animated by a sincere desire to promote the good of the public, were, with scarcely an exception, contending for their own advancement. These disputes were carried on without any bounds of moderation, and each party, as it prevailed, made a cruel use of victory.

Having, at length, obtained indisputable evidence by means of the Allobroges, who were solicited by the conspirators to unite with them, of the guilt of several of the leaders of the plot in the city, Cicero assembled the Senate to obtain their advice respecting the kind of punishment which should be inflicted on these citizens of the first rank, clearly convicted of treason.

The speeches of Cæsar and Cato on this occasion are given by Sallust; the former, who was by many suspected of being concerned in this conspiracy, pleaded for the lives of the traitors; but Cato said, "My opinion is, that since by a detestable combination of profligate citizens the State is brought into the greatest danger; since they are clearly convicted of having entered into a conspiracy for destroying their fellow-citizens and native country by slaughter and conflagration—they be put to death."

A decree was passed conformable to his proposal; and the consul, fearing that an attempt might be made during the night to rescue them, put the sentence in execution immediately. Lentulus, a Patrician, descended from the illustrious family of the Corneliæ, and who had borne the office of consul, was thrust down into a dungeon and strangled; and others shared the same fate.

Catiline, in the mean time, was making vigorous preparations for battle; and Sallust ascribes to him a noble speech, worthy of a better cause.

\* \* \* "Two armies," he said, "one from Rome, another from Gaul, obstruct our motions. Want of provisions and other necessities will not allow us to make any longer stay here, were we ever so desirous of doing it. To whatever place you think of marching, you must open yourselves a passage with your swords. I conjure you then to summon up all your courage; to act like men resolute and undaunted; to remember when you engage, that you carry in your hands riches, honor, and glory; nay, even your liberty and your country. If we

overcome, all will be safe; we shall have plenty of provisions; the corporate towns and colonies will be all ready to receive us. But if we fail through fear, the very reverse will be our fate; nor will any place or friend protect those whom arms could not. Let me add to this, my fellow soldiers, that we have different motives to animate us from what the opposite army has. We fight for our country, for our liberty, for our lives; they, for no interest of their own, but only to support the power of a few. Let this consideration, then, engage you to fall on them more courageously, remembering your former bravery.

“We might, indeed, have passed our days, with the utmost infamy in banishment: some of you too might have lived at Rome, depending for your subsistence on others, after having lost your own estates. But such a condition appearing infamous and intolerable to men of spirit, you resolved on the present course. If you repent of the step, it is unnecessary to remind you, that even to secure a retreat, the firmest valor is still indispensable. Peace must be procured by victory alone, not by a grovelling cowardice. To hope for security from flight, when you have turned from the enemy the arms which serve to defend you, is the height of madness. *In battle, the most cowardly are always in most danger: courage is a wall of defence.* When I consider your characters, fellow soldiers, and reflect on your past achievements, I have great hopes of victory: your spirit, your age, your virtue, encourage me; and our necessity too, which even inspires cowards with bravery: for the straitness of our situation will prevent the enemy's numbers from surrounding us. But should fortune envy your bravery, be sure you fall not without taking due vengeance on the enemy; suffer not yourselves to be taken and slaughtered like cattle; but fight like men, and leave the enemy a bloody and mournful victory.”

When, at length, the army of the rebels encountered the army of the State, the soldiers of Catiline fought with the most heroic bravery. Petreius sounded to battle, and ordered his cohorts to advance slowly: the enemy did the same. But when they were come near enough for the light armed soldiers to begin the fight, they set up a loud shout, rushed with great fury into a close engagement, and laying aside their darts, made use of their swords only. The veterans, mindful of their former bravery, pressed vigorously on the rebels, who made a bold resistance; so that the engagement was maintained with great obstinacy. Catiline was all the while in the first line, at the head of a light armed body; sustaining such as were

severely pressed; putting fresh men in the room of those who were wounded; providing for every exigence; often charging the enemy in person; and performing at once the duty of a brave soldier and a great commander.

At last the ranks of the rebels were broken, and great slaughter ensued. Manlius was killed, fighting in the foremost rank. Catiline, when he saw his forces routed, and himself left with only a few, mindful of his birth and former dignity, rushed headlong into the thickest of the enemy, where he fell covered with wounds, and fighting to the last.

When the engagement was ended, it evidently appeared with what undaunted spirit and resolution Catiline's army was fired; for the body of every one was found on that very spot which, during the battle, he had occupied: those only excepted who were forced from their posts by the prætorian cohort; and even they, though they fell a little out of their ranks, were all wounded before. Catiline himself was found far from his own men, amid the dead bodies of the enemy, breathing a little, with an air of that fierceness still in his face, which he had when alive. There was not in all his army one free citizen taken prisoner. The army of the Republic, indeed, obtained the victory; but it was neither a cheap, nor a joyful one, for the bravest men were either slain in the battle or dangerously wounded.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### POMPEY — CRASSUS.

Cneus Pompey, surnamed the Great, was the son of Pompeius Strabo and Lucilia. He early distinguished himself in the field of battle, and fought with success and bravery under his father, whose courage and military prudence he imitated. He began his career with great popularity; the beauty and elegance of his person gained him admirers; and by pleading at the bar, he displayed his eloquence, and received great applause. In the disturbances which agitated Rome, by the ambition and avarice of Marius and Sylla, Pompey followed the interest of the latter, and by levying three legions for his service, he gained his friendship and his protection. In the 26th year of his age, he conquered Sicily, which was in the power of Marius and his adherents; and in forty days he regained all the territories of Africa, which had forsaken the interest of Sylla. This rapid success astonished the Romans; and Sylla, who admired and dreaded the rising power of Pompey, recalled him to Rome. Pompey immediately obeyed; and the dictator, by saluting him with the appellation of the Great, showed to the world what expectations he formed of the future eminence of his victorious lieutenant.

After the assassination of the truly great Sertorius, Pompey easily reduced to subjection the rebellious province of Spain, and he erected in the Pyrenees many monuments to perpetuate his exploits, on which were inscriptions importing that, between the Alps and the Farther Spain, he had subjected 876 cities. On his return home, he put to the sword a numerous band of fugitive slaves, a remnant of the army of Spartacus; and six thousand of these wretched beings were crucified along the road from Capua to Rome.

CRASSUS had greatly distinguished himself in the war with Spartacus, and he and Pompey, the two victorious generals, aspired to the consulship. Crassus, surnamed the Rich, is

chiefly distinguished for his enormous wealth. He was attached to Sylla's cause, and being extremely rapacious, he made use of all his credit to enrich himself by the plunder of the enemy, and the purchase of confiscated estates, which Cicero calls his harvest. By these means he raised immense wealth, computed at many millions, gathered from the spoils and calamities of his country. He used to say, that no man could be reckoned rich, who was not able to maintain an army out of his own rents: and, if the accounts of antiquity are true, the number of his slaves was scarcely inferior to a full army. These made a part of his revenue, being trained to some useful art or profession, in which they were employed to enrich their master. He is said to have had above 500 masons and architects, who were constantly occupied in building or repairing the houses of the city. He envied Pompey's superior abilities and reputation; and the feeling of aversion was much increased by Pompey's ungenerous attempt to rob him of the honor of ending the Servile war. Finding himself unequal to his rival in military fame, he applied to the arts of peace and eloquence, in which he obtained the character of a good speaker; and by his easy and familiar address, and a readiness to assist all, who wanted either his protection or his money, he acquired great authority in public affairs.

B. C. 70. The victorious generals, Pompey and Crassus, were elected consuls; and both had a triumph for the victories which they had obtained. Crassus consecrated the tenth of his estate to Hercules, gave a feast to the whole city, and to each citizen corn for three months. Pompey was also assiduous to establish himself in the affections of the people. By ancient institution, the Roman knights, when they had completed their time of service, which was ten years, presented themselves before the censors, to whom they gave an account of their campaigns, and under what generals they had served. When the censors were sitting in their curule chairs, at the gate of the temple of Castor and Pollux, making the review, Pompey appeared. He entered the forum in all the state belonging to the consular dignity; but he came along leading his horse by the bridle, and presented himself before the tribunal of those magistrates. The people, impressed with this artful exhibition of affected submission to the customs of the State, broke forth into the loudest expressions of their admiration at his condescension; and the censors, having asked him whether he had completed all the years of service which he owed to the Commonwealth, rose after they had received his answer, and conducted him in triumph to his house.

He also gained great applause, by reversing the decree of Sylla, which transferred the judicature entirely to the Senators, who, as even Cicero admits, sold their votes, so that a wealthy man, however criminal, escaped with impunity. Cicero, in his oration against Verres, (who had greatly oppressed the province of Sicily,) says, "That the provinces were ruined by cruel exactions; that they had lost all hope of redress; that in consequence of the scandalous behavior of the judges, the authority of the censors, hated before as too rigid, was desired and became popular; that there was a daily complaint of the infamy of trials, and the disgrace of the whole Senatorial order.

The Roman provinces, at this period, seem to have been the scene of the most rapacious and cruel tyranny; and the government of them was coveted, as store-houses are by robbers. Cicero informs us, that during the administration of Verres in Sicily, "When any vessel richly laden arrived in the ports, it was seized by spies and informers, on pretence that it came from Spain, and was filled with the soldiers of Sertorius. And when the commanders exhibited their bills of lading, with a sample of their goods, to prove that they were fair traders, who came from different quarters of the world, some producing Tyrian purple, others Arabian spices, some jewels and precious stones, others Greek wines and Asiatic slaves, the very proof was their certain ruin. Verres declared that their goods had been acquired by piracy; and seizing the ships with their cargoes, for his own use, he committed the whole crew to prison, though the greatest part of them might be Roman citizens."

Verres was defended by the celebrated orator, Hortensius, who was the friend of Cicero, and was highly eulogized by him. He was considered the leader of the Roman bar, and had so much influence, that judgment was generally given in accordance with his wishes. In defending his client, he did not trust merely to his wit, learning, and eloquence; but he employed solicitations, caresses, menaces, threats, and money to gain his cause. The method of passing sentence was by balloting. To each of the judges were given three waxed tablets, (little pieces of wood,) on one of which was the letter A, for absolvo, (I acquit,) on another the letter C, for condemno, (I pronounce guilty,) and on the other N. L., for non liquet, (the thing is not clear—the cause must be reheard.) Each judge, after hearing the cause, put one of these tablets into a box, or urn. Hortensius, (the man so much admired by Cicero,) not

only engaged some one among the judges to be a spy upon the rest, but, when he was particularly interested in a cause, he contrived to furnish the judges with tablets of different colors, so that when these were taken out of the box, he might know, whether the judges whom he had bribed, had earned the wages of iniquity.

Of this celebrated orator, who was elected consul the following year, we are told, that he had 10,000 casks of wine in his cellar; that he irrigated his plane trees with wine; that, on one occasion, he begged Cicero to change the hour fixed for hearing a cause, in which they were both concerned, because he was under the necessity of going to his Tusculan villa to pour wine on some of his shrubs; that he took so much care of his fish, that he occasionally warmed their water; and on one occasion, wept for the death of a lamprey.

Pompey, before his election to the consulship, promised the people that he would endeavor to correct this scandalous corruption of justice, by passing a law for electing the judges from the three orders of the Commonwealth. A law to this effect was established, and remained in force till the dictatorship of Cæsar. Pompey also still farther to ingratiate himself with the people, restored to the tribunes their ancient privileges. But the people were no longer worthy of the rights which this office conferred. It was constantly abused, during the short time that it continued in force after this period, by mercenary, seditious, or ambitious demagogues.

The two consuls had disagreed during their whole administration. Pompey, contrary to his promise, had kept his troops in arms near the city, and Crassus had not disbanded his army. The people were, consequently, in constant apprehension of another civil war. But a few days before the termination of their consular power, an apparent reconciliation was effected by means of the declaration of a Roman knight, "That in a dream, Jupiter had appeared to him, and commanded him to declare to the people, in his name, that they should not suffer the consuls to quit their office, till they were reconciled." The consuls were also induced to issue edicts for disbanding their armies. And Pompey, apprehensive of incurring the jealousy of the people, took an oath, that he would not accept any government, when the term of his office expired.

At this time, all the shores of the Mediterranean were infested by numerous bands of pirates, who committed the most dreadful depredations. They formed a kind of commonwealth, of which Cilicia was the centre. They had magazines



upon the coasts for depositing their booty, and had even naval arsenals well supplied with every thing necessary for building and equipping ships. They erected high towers, that they might descry the seas, and they engaged in their interest several cities.

At this time the pirates had more than 1000 ships, furnished with skilful pilots. They affected magnificence, and their ships glittered with gold and silver; their oars were silvered; and the curtains of the cabins were of purple. When they went ashore they indulged in the most sumptuous entertainments. They had taken 400 cities; and they often landed on the coasts of Sicily, infested the main roads, and rifled the houses, that were not far from the sea. To pillage and spread consternation amongst the Romans was their great delight.

The successful depredations of these formidable pirates very much increased the price of provisions at Rome; and it was acknowledged by all, that very vigorous measures should be adopted to destroy the alarming and increasing evil. One of the tribunes, the friend of Pompey, proposed, with a particular view to this great general, that the people should choose one, to whom the absolute command over the whole Mediterranean, and all the coasts and the country inland for the distance of several miles, should be given for three years, with the power to take money at his discretion from the public treasury, and to raise any number of soldiers and sailors that he thought proper. The leading members of the Senate, with few exceptions, and some of the people, opposed the proposition, justly thinking that the grant of a power so exorbitant was dangerous to public liberty; but the multitude, completely blind to their own interests, and deceived by the hypocritical zeal of Pompey and Cæsar, violently put down all opposition, and raised so loud a cry of indignation against two of the tribunes, who spoke against the measure, that a raven, says Plutarch, which was flying over the multitude, was stunned with the noise, and fell in the midst of the Forum.

Pompey, on this occasion, played his part to perfection. He was a man who could "frame his face to all occasions, play the orator as well as Nestor, and deceive more slyly than Ulysses could." He ascended the rostra, and "begged the people to spare him; he was quite spent with his past fatigues; and, indeed, he was afraid of envy; he desired nothing so much as the tranquillity of a private life: besides, the Commonwealth had many other persons more capable of serving it."

“O what authority and show of truth  
Can cunning man cover himself withal!”

The cause of liberty is beset with perils and snares on every side. The blind admiration, the implicit confidence, and the credulous faith of a grateful people, hurry them on to invest with dangerous authority the distinguished heroes of their country, and thus they place in jeopardy all their rights and privileges.

Cæsar, who was not inferior to Pompey in all the artifices of dissimulation, and who was secretly contriving, by means of flattering the people, to raise himself to supreme power, on this occasion, seconded, by his powerful interest, the proposition of the traitor, Gabinius. Pompey was, accordingly, elected, and invested with little less than sovereign power. His success surpassed the expectations of his most zealous friends. The pirates, who had for many years spread over the whole Mediterranean, were completely subdued, and the navigation of the sea rendered perfectly safe.

To Pompey was now committed the command of the Mithridatic war, and of all the Roman armies in the East. Astonishing success attended his military operations. He conquered Mithridates; he entered Armenia, and received the submission of Tigranes; and, after he had conquered the Albanians and Iberians, he visited countries that were scarcely known to the Romans; and like a master of the world, disposed of kingdoms and provinces, and received homage from twelve crowned heads at once. He reduced the people of Colchis, and took their king prisoner; then marched back against the Albanians, who, whilst he was engaged with the Iberians and Colchians, had renewed the war. He overthrew them with great slaughter, and killed, with his own hand, their general, the brother of their king. He crossed the kingdom of Pontus in his way to Syria; subdued Darius, king of Media, and Antiochus, king of Commagene; and having reduced Cælo-Syria and Damascus, and the regions as far as the Tigris, he became master of all the Syrian empire, and reduced it to the form of a Roman province. Antiochus was deprived of his crown, which ended the empire of the Seleucidæ in Asia, after it had lasted 258 years. (Seleucidæ was a surname given to those monarchs who sat on the throne of Syria, an empire founded by Seleucus, one of the captains of Alexander the Great, that received Babylon as his province, and conquered Syria.) He took Jerusalem after a siege of three

months. Judea became, from this time, a Roman province. He pushed his conquests as far as the Red Sea; and part of Arabia was subdued. After these astonishing conquests, he returned to Italy with all the pomp and majesty of an eastern conqueror, and was honored with a triumph.

But the Roman people, in the midst of their rejoicings at these splendid conquests, could not dismiss their apprehensions, that he would now seize the reins of government, and become sole and absolute master of the Roman world. Crassus, well knowing the insincerity of all Pompey's professions, withdrew from the city, taking with him his money and children. But the conqueror, after he had landed in Italy, ordered his soldiers to disperse, and attend to their own affairs until his triumph.

All the cities, as he journeyed towards Rome, poured forth their inhabitants to salute him. As the law did not permit him to enter Rome before his triumph, he desired the Senate to defer the election of consuls on his account, and this request was made, that he might, by his presence, support the interest of Piso; but the influence of Cato, at this time, confirmed the Senate in their opposition to this unreasonable and illegal request. Pompey, anxious to secure the friendship of this intrepid patriot, proposed a matrimonial alliance with his family, offering to marry one of his nieces, asking the other for his son. But Cato, discerning his motive, rejected the proposal.

Anxious to obtain the consulship for one of his friends, Pompey disgraced himself, in the estimation of all the friends of Roman liberty by distributing large sums of money amongst the tribes to secure the election. Cato, on this occasion, observed to the ladies of his family, who had wished for the alliance, that they must all have shared in this disgrace, if they had consented to Pompey's offer; and they admitted, that he was a better judge than they of honor and propriety.

The time appointed for the triumph of the conqueror at last arrived; and never before had any Roman general so splendid an exhibition, for none had brought in subjection to the power of Rome so many nations. The triumph lasted two days. At the head of the triumphal procession was carried a banner, with an inscription importing that Pompey, after he had delivered all the maritime coasts from the pirates, and restored to the Roman people the empire of the sea, triumphed over Asia, Pontus, Arménia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Syria, the Scythians, the Jews, the Albanians, Ibéria, the island of Crete, the Bastarnæ, (a people of European Sarmatia,) and over the

kings Mithridátes and Tigránes. The riches displayed were prodigious. They consisted of a chess or draught board, made of two precious stones, four feet long, and three feet wide; a moon of gold, of above thirty pounds weight; three table-beds of gold; vessels of gold adorned and enriched with precious stones, enough to furnish nine buffets; three statues of gold, one of Minerva, another of Mars, and a third of Apollo; the golden vine of Aristobúlus; thirty-three crowns of pearl; a little chapel consecrated to the Muses, all of pearl, with a sun dial at the top; the effigies of the conqueror, made of pearl; a chest filled with jewels and rings of great value, (which had belonged to Mithridates, and which Pompey consecrated in the Capitol, with the golden vine;) the throne and sceptre of Mithridates, and a bust of that prince in gold, of the height of eight cubits; a silver statue of Pharnaces; and wagons full of gold and silver.

This display of riches was followed by wagons filled with arms of all sorts, beaks of ships, a multitude of prisoners, not loaded with chains, (as had been the custom on former occasions,) but every one at liberty, and dressed after the mode of their respective countries. Immediately before the triumphal car, marched the kings, princes, and lords to the number of 324, who had been subdued, or delivered as hostages. Among these were the younger Tigranes, with his wife and daughter; the queen Zozima, the wife of the elder Tigranes; seven children of Mithridates; Olthaces, who had reigned at Colchis; Aristobulus, king of the Jews, with his son Antigonus, and two daughters; several tyrants, and the captains of the Cilician pirates; princesses of Scythia; three Albanian generals, and two Iberian; the hostages of these nations, and their king Comana; and last of all Menander, commander-in-chief of the cavalry of Mithridates.

Several pictures followed, which represented the vanquished kings, or the battles gained either by Pompey or his lieutenants, and a detail of the adventures of Mithridates. This long string of pictures was followed by the gods of the barbarians, led in triumph, together with their worshippers.

Immediately after these was Pompey, mounted on a car, glittering with precious stones, and clothed in a military robe, said to be that of Alexander. The principal officers of the army followed the car, some on foot, and some on horseback.

There was an inscription on the table carried in the show, which declared, that whereas the revenue of the Republic,

before his conquests, had not exceeded fifty millions of drachmas a year, her revenues from the countries which he had conquered amounted to eighty-five millions.

It had formerly been the custom, when the triumphal procession was over, to put the captives to death, or condemn them to perpetual imprisonment. But Pompey's captives were sent back to their own countries.

Pompey built a temple to Minerva out of the spoils, on which there was an inscription giving a summary of his victories. It stated that he had finished a war of thirty years continuance, had vanquished, slain, and taken 2,183,000 men; sunk or taken 846 ships; reduced to the power of the Commonwealth 1,538 towns and fortresses; and subdued all the countries between the lake Mæotis and the Red Sea.

Six years after the building of this temple, Pompey constructed, at his own expense, a permanent theatre. Before this time, the theatres were only temporary structures, which were taken down when the shows were over. This theatre is much celebrated for its grandeur and magnificence. The plan was taken from the theatre of Mytilene, but was greatly enlarged, and it commodiously contained 40,000 people. It was surrounded by a portico, to shelter the people in bad weather, and had a curia or senate-house annexed to it; there was also a basilica, or grand hall, that might be used for judicial, or any other public business; and it was adorned with a great many statues of the most distinguished characters, male and female. At one end of this theatre, was a beautiful temple dedicated to Venus the conqueress. The temple was added, it is said, to avoid the reproach of spending so much money for the mere use of luxury: and it was so placed, that those who came to see the shows, might seem to come to worship the goddess.

At the solemnity of the dedication, Pompey entertained the people with the most magnificent shows that had ever been exhibited in Rome. In the theatre were stage-plays, pieces of music, wrestling and all kinds of athletic exercises: in the circus were horse races, and wild beast shows, for five days successively, in which 500 lions were killed; and on the last day, twenty elephants were attacked.

## CHAPTER XXII.

CICERO—CATO—CÆSAR.

Cicero, though he greatly distinguished his consulship by the defeat of Catiline's conspiracy, the lustre of which, however, he tarnished by his excessive vanity, has acquired more real fame by his literary compositions and splendid oratory, than by his political conduct. He was by no means destitute of ambition, but he was of a timid, vacillating disposition; and seems to have been generally actuated by a supreme regard to his own private interests. He set himself in opposition to the rights of the people, and was solicitous to obtain the favor of the nobility. His conduct during the civil wars was by no means that of a patriot; and when we see him dubious and irresolute, sorry not to follow Pompey, and yet afraid to oppose Cæsar, we cannot hesitate to pronounce him a coward; and we regard him as a man much more solicitous about his own safety, than the welfare of his country.

Marcus Tullius Cicero was born B. C. 106, at Arpinum. Being the first born, he received the name of his father and grand-father, Marcus. This name was properly personal, equivalent to that now given at the time of baptism, and was imposed with various ceremonies. The child was carried to the temple by the friends and relations of the family; and before the altars of the gods, was recommended to the protection of some tutelar deity. Tullius was the name of the family. The third name was generally added on account of some memorable action, quality, or accident. As Tullius, the family name, was derived from the situation of the farm, so Cicero, the surname, from the culture of vetches.

Cicero's father encouraged the promising genius of his son, and gave him the ablest masters. When Cicero, at about 17 years of age, had assumed the manly gown, and had, according to custom, been introduced to the Forum, he was placed under the care of Q. M. Scævola, the augur, the principal lawyer, as well as statesman of that day. (The Forum was

the great school of business and eloquence, the scene on which all the affairs of the State were determined, and where the foundations of the hopes and fortunes of the candidates for honor were to be laid. The young men of distinction were introduced to it with much solemnity, attended by all the friends and dependants of the family, and, after divine rites, performed in the Capitol, were committed to the special protection of some eminent Senator, distinguished for his eloquence and knowledge of the laws, to be instructed by his advice, in the management of civil affairs.)

Cicero attached himself closely to his patron, and carefully treasured in his mind all the remarkable sayings which dropped from him, as so many lessons of prudence for his future conduct. After the death of Scævola, he became the follower of another eminent man of the same family; who, though he did not profess to teach, yet freely gave his advice to all the young students who consulted him.

Under these masters he acquired a complete knowledge of the laws of his country. This branch of knowledge was thought to be of so much consequence at Rome, that it was the common exercise of boys at school to learn the laws of the twelve tables by heart, as they did their poets and classic authors. The profession of the law, next to that of arms and eloquence, was a sure recommendation to the first honors of the Republic; and, for that reason, was preserved, as it were, hereditary in some of the noblest families of Rome; who, by giving their advice gratis to all who asked for it, engaged the favor and observance of their fellow citizens, and acquired great authority in all the affairs of state. It was the custom of these old Senators, eminent for their wisdom and experience, to walk up and down the Forum, as a signal for their offering themselves freely to all, who had occasion to consult them, not only in cases of law, but in their private and domestic affairs. But in latter times, they sat at home, with their doors open, on a kind of throne, or raised seat, like the confessors in foreign churches, giving access and audience to all people.

Cicero's notions of the requisites for an orator were of a high order. In order to speak aptly, elegantly, and copiously on any subject, which he might be called upon to undertake, the orator, he said, should have a perfect knowledge of all the arts, and every thing that is great; and unless there is a fund of useful knowledge, the greatest volubility of speaking will appear empty and ridiculous. Who does not know, that the greatest power of eloquence consists in awakening the soul to

anger, hatred, and grief, or in recalling it from these emotions to gentleness and pity. But this arbitrary command of the passions can be gained only by him, who has a thorough knowledge of the nature of mankind, the whole extent of their faculties, and those motives which animate or restrain the soul. The province of an orator is to talk in a language that is proper, graceful, and suited to the affections and understandings of mankind. As an orator will often have to touch upon piety, concord, equity, friendship, temperance, magnanimity, and upon all the virtuous and vicious qualities of human nature, the philosophy of morals must be completely understood by him, if he would speak on these subjects with feeling, propriety, and elegance. In speeches delivered before judges in assemblies and senates, though the orator does not make any immediate application of the arts of natural and moral philosophy, of history and poetry; yet it is easily discerned, whether he is a pedantic declaimer, or trained to eloquence by all the arts that belong to a liberal education. Great, weighty, and important, is the undertaking and profession, when, amidst a numerous assembly profoundly silent, one man alone is heard discoursing on the most important subjects; for there is scarcely any one that hears him, who has not a quicker, or more piercing sense of the defects than of the beauties of his expression, and who, in condemning what he dislikes, does not overlook many of the excellencies that are worthy of admiration.

Cicero diligently availed himself of every opportunity to perfect himself in the art of oratory. He heard the harangues of the magistrates who spoke from the rostra; he attended the lectures of the celebrated Grecian philosophers who visited Rome; and spent the intervals of his leisure in the company of ladies, who were remarkable for their conversational talents. At the age of twenty-six, he offered his services at the bar. His voice, at this time, had a variety of inflections, but was harsh and unformed; and as, in the vehemence and enthusiasm of speaking, he always rose into a loud key, there was danger of his injuring his health, which was by no means good. Partly to invigorate his constitution and improve his voice, and partly to escape the tyranny of Sylla, whom he had offended by nobly defending Roscius, (when every one else was afraid to undertake his cause,) he went to Athens and Rhodes, and by regular, but prudent exercise, he rendered his voice sweet, full, and sonorous. And he suffered not a day to pass without either declaiming, or attending the most celebrated orators. Apollonius gave this gratifying testimony of the



astonishing proficiency of the young orator, whom he had desired to declaim in Greek, "As for you, Cicero, I praise and admire you, but I am concerned for the fate of Greece. She had nothing left but the glory of eloquence and erudition, and you are carrying that too to Rome."

Upon inquiring of the oracle at Delphi, by what means he might rise to the greatest glory, the priestess replied, "Follow nature, and do not take the opinion of the multitude as the guide of your life." On his return to Rome, he almost immediately gained the palm of eloquence; and, by the unanimous suffrage of the tribes, he was elected to the office of quæstor. Sicily was assigned him for his province. He discharged the duties of his office with so much prudence and address, that he gained the admiration and affection of all the Sicilians. At the expiration of his year, he took leave of them in an affectionate address, and assured them of his protection at Rome, a promise which he faithfully kept.

On his return to Rome, he closely attended the Forum, and, by a perpetual course of pleading, greatly advanced his interest in the city. He refused to take any fees, or accept any presents. But he did not neglect the usual arts of recommending himself to popular favor. He made himself well acquainted with the name, the abode, and condition of the principal plebeians; and, to assist his memory, he had at his elbow, on all public occasions, a nomenclator. (The people, at this time, expected to be much courted by all those who were candidates for public offices.) He had a handsome country seat near Naples, and another at Pompeii, but at Rome he had a house on the Palatine hill, that those who came to pay their court to him might not have too far to go; for he had a levee every day. Pompey himself paid Cicero great respect, and found his political assistance very useful to him.

In his 43d year he was elected to the consulship; during which he was hailed by many as the saviour and second founder of Rome, in consequence of his defeating Catiline's conspiracy. But, there were many, amongst whom was Cæsar, who endeavored to detract from his merit, and they would not suffer him to address the people at the expiration of his consular office, when he was required to take the oath that he had not acted contrary to law. Instead of the usual oath, he declared, "that he had saved his country, and preserved the empire."

This spirited conduct exasperated Cæsar, and the tribunes still more. And they actually proposed that Pompey, with his army, should be recalled to suppress what they called the

despotic power of Cicero. But Cato, being one of the tribunes, with all his indignant energy, defeated this base conspiracy, (Cæsar keenly resented the punishment of the partizans of Catiline,) and in a set speech on Cicero's consulship, gave him the glorious title of the father of his country.

Cicero's vanity now surpassed the endurance of many of his friends. In the Senate, in the assembly of the people, in the courts of judicature, Catiline and Lentulus were constantly introduced in his speeches. He was not satisfied with the praise which he received from others, but, in all his orations, and in all writings, he perpetually introduced his own exploits. But this great weakness, so unworthy of a mind so highly cultivated, was not tainted with the vice of envy. Though insatiably greedy of praise, he was always disposed to do full justice to the merits of others.

CATO.—Marcus Cato was the great grandson of Cato, the censor. From his infancy he discovered in his voice, his countenance, and in his diversions, a firmness and solidity, which neither passion nor any thing else could move. He pursued every object he had in view with a vigor far above his years, and a resolution that nothing could resist. Those who were inclined to flatter were sure to meet with a severe repulse; and to those who endeavored to intimidate him, he was intractable. Scarcely any thing could make him laugh, and it was but rarely that his countenance was softened to a smile. He was not easily moved to anger, but it was difficult to appease his resentment when once excited.

His apprehension was slow, and he acquired with difficulty; but what he had once learned, he long retained.

When in his fourteenth year, on seeing the heads of many illustrious persons, who had been murdered by the direction of Sylla, and observing that the by-standers sighed in secret at these scenes of blood, he asked his preceptor, "Why somebody did not kill that man?" "Because," replied the tutor, "they fear him more than they hate him." "Why, then," said Cato, "do you not give me a sword, that I may kill him, and deliver my country from slavery."

He formed, at an early period of his life, an intimacy with Antipater, the Stoic philosopher; and he devoted himself to the acquisition of moral and political philosophy, but made the principle of justice the subject of his particular study. He cultivated the art of eloquence to adapt himself for addressing popular assemblies. Yet, he did not declaim before company, or attend the exercises of other young men. And, when one

of his friends said, "Cato, the world finds fault with your silence," he answered, "No matter, so long as it does not find fault with my life: I shall begin to speak, when I have things to say that deserve to be known."

There was nothing of youthful sallies or finical affectation in his oratory; all was rough, sensible, and strong. His voice was loud enough to be heard by a large multitude; and his strength was so great, that he often spoke a whole day without being tired. To strengthen his constitution, he used the most laborious exercise. He accustomed himself to go bare-headed in the hottest and coldest weather; and travelled on foot at all seasons of the year. In time of sickness, his patience and abstinence were extraordinary. If he was attacked by a fever, he spent the whole day alone, and suffered no person to approach him, till the fever had abated.

Convinced that a great reformation in the manners and customs of his country was needed, he determined to set himself in opposition to the corrupt fashions which then prevailed. Observing that the richest purple was the color most desired, he always dressed in black. And he often appeared in public after dinner, barefooted, and without his gown, that he might learn to act independently of the tyrannical prescriptions of the fashionable world.

When he joined the army, he had the command of a legion given to him. In this post, it was his great ambition to induce all his troops to observe the rules of strict discipline, and to distinguish themselves by their good conduct. With this view, he lessened nothing of that authority which might inspire fear, but he called in the support of virtue to his assistance. By instruction and persuasion, as well as by rewards and punishments, he formed them so well, that it was difficult to say, whether his troops were more peaceable or more warlike, more valiant or more just. They were dreadful to their enemies, and courteous to their allies; afraid to do a dishonorable thing, and ambitious of honest praise.

Hence, though honor and fame were not Cato's objects, they flowed in upon him; he was held in universal esteem, and had the hearts of his soldiers: for whatever he commanded others to do, he was the first to do himself. In his dress, his manner of living, and marching, he resembled the private soldier more than the officer; and at the same time, in virtue, in dignity of mind, and strength of eloquence, he far succeeded all that had the name of general.

His great attachment to his brother Cæpio evinces that the

unnatural rigor of the stoical philosophy, which affected his general demeanor, and rendered him often severe, morose and inexorable in public life, had not banished all the softer affections. When he was in Macedonia, he learnt that his brother was dangerously ill. The sea was extremely rough, and no large vessel could be obtained; yet he ventured in a small passage boat, and narrowly escaped being drowned. On this occasion he showed the sensibility of a brother, rather than the stern fortitude of a philosopher of the Stoical school. He wept, he groaned, he embraced the dead body; and he spent an immense sum of money on his funeral. Numerous and very expensive spices and costly robes were burnt on the funeral pile; and a most splendid monument was erected by him in the Forum.

Before Cato returned to Rome to engage in civil affairs, he visited Asia, that he might observe the manners, customs, and political and commercial importance of every province. The unassuming deportment of his servants, and the very plain dress which he wore, not unfrequently exposed him to uncourteous treatment. It was his practice to send his baker and cook before him to the place where he intended to lodge, that he might give as little trouble as possible at the house where he spent the night. When he arrived at Epheus, he went to pay his respects to Pompey, and was received with apparent cordiality. But the great general felt always under a degree of restraint in his company, and was evidently glad to be relieved from the presence of this upright man, in whose society he felt his own inferiority.

The great presents which were sent to him by Dejotarus, king of Galatia, the friend of his father, he positively refused. Some of his companions being much disappointed, he said to them, "Corruption will never want a pretence; but you shall at all times freely share with me whatever I can obtain with justice and honor."

After his return to Rome, Cato assiduously prosecuted his studies, and though he was not without ambition, and was now of an age for the quæstorship, he would not solicit that office, till he had, in every respect, fully qualified himself for it. After his election he introduced many important reformati<sup>o</sup>ns, and discharged the duties of the office with great fidelity. He enjoyed not only the name and honor; but, understanding thoroughly all that belonged to his department, he experienced the great satisfaction of performing with diligence, integrity, and the most rigid impartiality all its important duties. Having

cleared the exchequer of all informers and all embezzlers, he showed, that it is possible for a government to be rich without oppressing the subject. His conduct, at first, was very obnoxious to his colleagues, but, being freed from the importunity of avaricious solicitors, they, at length, acknowledged that firmness and honesty are the best policy. He was in the treasury from morning till night; and there was no assembly of the people, nor any meeting of the Senate, that he did not attend. At the expiration of his office, he was conducted to his house by the great majority of the citizens.

Whenever the Senate was summoned to meet, Cato was the first to attend, and the last to withdraw; and that he might not lose any time, it was his frequent practice (whilst the rest of the members were assembling) to sit down and read, holding his gown before his book, that it might not be seen. His attention to the affairs of government, free from views of honor or profit, were not left to chance, humor, or convenience; and he always made his own private business yield to that of the public. It was his maxim, "That a good citizen ought to be as solicitous respecting the public welfare, as a bee is about its hive."

The friends of Cato were desirous that he should offer himself for the tribuneship, but he refused on the ground, that he was not yet sufficiently prepared for the important office. But learning that a man, whom he believed entertained designs inimical to the welfare of the State, was offering himself a candidate, he overcame his objection, and became his opponent.

Yet, this man, generally so exemplary in the discharge of his public duties, occasionally regulated his conduct by the principle of expediency, and deemed it fitting, on one occasion, at least, to use corrupt means to carry an election. Bribery, which he had so much condemned in Pompey, he himself was guilty of practising. He was indeed influenced by an ardent desire to promote the welfare of the Commonwealth; but the principle of genuine virtue sanctions not corrupt means, even in a good cause. In early life he was noted for his temperance, but as he advanced in years, he degraded himself by an excessive indulgence in intoxicating liquor. "O, thou invisible spirit of wine, if thou hast no name to be known by, let us call thee—devil. Oh! strange! that men should put an enemy into their mouths, to steal away their brains, and transform themselves into beasts!" Cato became so fond of social enjoyments, that he frequently prolonged them through a great part of the night.

Cæsar stated, "that while Cato was going home from one of his evening parties, in a state of intoxication, with his head covered, that he might not be known, some persons whom he met, took off the disguise; but they were so ashamed when they discovered who it was, that it might have been thought, Cato had detected them, and not they Cato."

His conduct respecting his wife Marcia, proves the very lax notions which prevailed on the most important relation of life. A practice so grossly revolting to the moral sense, and so pernicious in its consequences, though tolerated at Rome, could never have been followed by one who understood the essential principles of virtue. The doctrines and precepts of Stoical philosophy are not calculated to spiritualize the mind, to soften the heart, to humanize our natures with compassion, humility, and forgiveness, in all the dear relations of father, son, brother, and wife, and all the charities just and pure, that excite a thousand tender solitudes, a thousand waking watchful cares, of meek anxiety and patient sacrifices. No; it is Christianity only which imparts all these blessed influences, that raise man so high in the scale of being, and lead him to take a generous interest in the welfare of all mankind, and love his kindred with a pure heart fervently.

C. J. CÆSAR.—The character of Cæsar is represented in very different colors by various authors; but all unite in ascribing to him transcendant intellectual qualities and attainments. He was by nature endowed with every great and noble quality that could exalt human nature, and obtain an ascendancy in society. He was provident in council, fearless in action, and expeditious in executing his purposes, generous to his friends, placable to his enemies, and scarcely inferior to any man that ever lived in abilities, learning, and eloquence. He was a munificent patron of wit and learning. In all the military qualifications he had no superior; and he was esteemed and beloved by his soldiers. In riding, in throwing the javelin, and in every exercise, he possessed singular dexterity; and he was able to endure the greatest hardships and toil with astonishing perseverance. He used commonly to march before his troops, bareheaded, both in foul and fair weather; and to swim over the rivers which obstructed his way. In his expeditions, he was daring, but cautious; but on all occasions he acted with the greatest intrepidity and resolution; and the serenity of his countenance was often, in imminent dangers, the chief support of the courage of his troops. Just and impartial to his officers and soldiers, he exacted the strictest discipline when the enemy

was near; but on other occasions, he excused them from all duty, and left them to revel at pleasure, remarking that they did not fight the worse for being perfumed. The fact is, that the unbounded indulgence of his own licentious passions, which no times nor circumstances restrained, rendered it necessary, to avoid the reflections of his companions in arms, that he should permit them to follow their own inclinations, in the intervals between every engagement. As regard to his own selfish gratifications made him indifferent to the pernicious consequences of this example. Cæsar's love of pleasure was criminal in the highest possible degree; and to gratify his passions he lavished immense sums of money. His debts amounted to eight hundred and thirty talents, when he entered on his first public office. But his ambition was his all absorbing passion. Pleasure and ambition he indulged in their turns to the greatest excess; yet the second was always predominant, and to it he could sacrifice all the charms of the first, and draw pleasure even from toils and dangers, when they ministered to his glory. When one of his friends on passing through a village on the Alps, remarked, "Can there here be any disputes for offices, any contentions for precedency, or such envy and ambition as we see among the great?" Cæsar said with great seriousness, "I assure you I would rather be the first man here, than the second man in Rome." When he was in Spain, while he was on one occasion reading the life of Alexander, he was so much affected with it, that after sitting pensive for some time, he at last burst into tears; and said in reply to the anxious inquiry of his friends, "Do you not think I have sufficient cause for concern, when Alexander, at my age, reigned over so many conquered countries, and I have not one glorious achievement to boast?" Cicero says, "He thought supreme power the greatest of goddesses, and frequently quoted a verse of Euripides, which expressed the image of his soul, 'that if right and justice were ever to be violated, they were to be violated for the sake of reigning.'" This was the chief end and purpose of his life; the scheme that he had formed from his early youth; so that, as Cato truly declared of him, "he came with sobriety and meditation to the ruin of the republic." He used to say, there were two things necessary, to acquire and support power—soldiers and money; which yet depended mutually upon each other: with money he provided soldiers, and with soldiers extorted money; and he was of all men the most rapacious in plundering both friends and foes; sparing neither prince, nor state, nor temple.

The moderation which he displayed after his victories, has been highly extolled, but in this he shewed his penetration, not the disinterested spirit of clemency. The exhibition of certain virtues is, on some occasions, necessary to put in motion the political machine. It was requisite that he should have the appearance of clemency to prosecute his ambitious schemes. There is no greatness of mind in a generosity, that is manifested in order to maintain the usurpation of supreme power.

Cæsar had the fortune to live in times of trouble and civil commotion, when the minds of men were in a ferment; when opportunities of great actions are frequent, when talents are every thing, and those who can only boast of their virtues are nothing. If he had lived a hundred years before this period of general excitement, he would have been no more than an obscure villain; and instead of giving laws to the world, he would not have been able to produce any confusion in it. The great and versatile talents of this singular man, (who wrote his commentaries on the Gallic wars, on the spot where he fought his battles, in a style remarkable for its elegance and correctness; who was inferior only to Cicero in eloquence; who, in the midst of his campaigns, observed, with the eye of an astronomer, the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, and who reformed the calendar,) and, above all, the good fortune which constantly attended him, till the moment of his assassination, have blinded the eyes of mankind to the enormity of his actions. Had Cæsar, instead of gaining, lost the battle of Pharsalia, his character would, at this hour, have ranked little above that of Catiline, and the weakest man would have viewed his enterprise against his country in blacker colors, than, perhaps, even Cato, with all the animosity of a party man, ever viewed it at the time. His real merit—the justness of his taste, the simplicity and elegance of his writings, the propriety of his eloquence, his skill in war, his resources in distress, his cool and sedate judgment in danger, his unexampled generosity to his enemies, would all have been acknowledged; as the real merit of Catiline, who had many great qualities, is acknowledged at this day. But the insolence and injustice of his all-grasping ambition would have darkened and extinguished the glory of all that real merit. Fortune has in this, as well as in some other respects, great influence over the moral sentiments of mankind, and, according as she is either favorable or adverse, can render the same character the object either of general love and admiration, or of universal hatred and contempt.



C. Julius Cæsar was born B. C. 99. The Julian family was patrician, and from the beginning of the Commonwealth, had attained the highest dignities. He was in his sixteenth year, when he lost his father. His mother, Aurelia, was a lady of merit, and is much praised for the care she took of her son's education. He was attached to the party of Marius; and, as has been stated, was saved by the powerful intercession of the friends of his family. He made his first campaigns in Asia, and acquired the honor of a civic crown. On the news of Sylla's death he returned to Rome, and was very active in obtaining an amnesty for the Marian party. He greatly distinguished himself as an orator, when he was only twenty-three years of age, by the speech which he made against Dolabella. To perfect himself in eloquence, he went to Rhodes to attend the lectures of Apollonius, the rhetorician. In his passage he was taken by pirates. Whilst he was waiting in their custody for the money for his ransom, he shared in their diversions, and joined them in their exercises. He wrote poems and orations, and rehearsed them to his fierce captors; and when they did not express any admiration, he called them dunces and barbarians, and, on all occasions, treated them as his inferiors. Their cupidity tolerated his insolence, as they expected a large ransom. As soon as he recovered his liberty, he fitted out several vessels, surprised and took the pirates prisoners, and crucified them. On his return to Rome, he employed all possible means of promoting his interests. He was more especially solicitous to obtain the good opinion of the plebeians; he was lavish of his money and that of his friends; he was extremely affable and polite to all, and condescending to the lowest of the people; and was most magnificent in his retinue and his table, and indulged in a course of licentious extravagance, as if the wealth of the commonwealth was at his command, and the world was made to minister to his gratifications. When he was appointed ædile, he exhibited three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators; and in the other diversions of the theatre, in the processions and public tables, he far surpassed the most ambitious of his predecessors. These artifices of popularity, which ought to have excited the indignation of the people, completely gained their favor, and all were anxious to bestow new honors and employments to recompence his liberality. His affability, grace and dignity were almost irresistible. He was the advocate of all popular measures, and was regarded as the great supporter of the people's rights. Cato, Cicero, and the Senate,

“Observ’d his courtship to the common people:  
How he did seem to dive into their hearts,  
With humble and familiar courtesy;  
What reverence he did throw away on slaves:  
Wooing poor craftsmen with the craft of smiles,  
And patient underbearing of his fortune,  
As ’twere, to banish their effects with him.”

Cicero seems to have been the first who suspected something formidable in these popular measures, and saw the deep and dangerous designs of Cæsar under the smiles of his benignity. He remarked, “I perceive an inclination for tyranny in all the projects he executes; but, on the o’her hand, when I see him adjusting his hair with so much exactness, (he was remarkable for the great attention which he paid to his dress, and the decoration of his handsome person,) and scratching his head with one finger, I can hardly think that such a man can conceive so vast and fatal a design as the destruction of the Roman commonwealth.”

The Marian party were much gratified by the oration which he pronounced from the rostra on occasion of the funeral of his aunt Julia, the widow of Marius; and by his causing images of Marius to be carried in the funeral procession.

At the funeral of his wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, he made an innovation on the custom of pronouncing orations on the funeral of aged women, who only were distinguished by this honorable mark of respect. The people regarded this breach of a long established custom as a singular proof of his affectionate disposition; though he was at the time violating, in his daily conduct, the most sacred obligations of domestic virtue.

During his ædileship, he placed in the Capitol in the night, statues of Marius, glistening with gold, and of most exquisite workmanship, with a representation of his victories, adorned with trophies. This bold proceeding made a great sensation, and the circumstance was brought before the Senate. And it was said, “You no longer attack the Commonwealth by mines, but by open battery.” The people, however, were highly delighted. They bestowed the greatest encomiums on Cæsar, and assured him, that he might gain every thing with their consent, and become the first man in Rome. He was indeed rapidly advancing towards the object of his criminal

ambition; and this year he obtained the office of the high priesthood.

After the expiration of his prætorship, Cæsar went to take the government of Spain, the province which had been assigned to him. Having subdued the whole country, he returned to Rome, B. C. 59.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### TRIUMVIRATE OF POMPEY, CÆSAR, AND CRASSUS.

B. C. 59. Cæsar, on his return from Spain, found the direction of public affairs in a great measure under the control of Pompey and Crassus; each of whom was ineffectually struggling to become the ascendant. Cæsar, even more ambitious than the other two, and conscious of his superior ability, proposed that they should compromise their dispute, and form, in conjunction with himself, a triumvirate, or association of three persons, and assume the whole power of the government. The proposition was acceded to; and these three traitors, in order to make their confederacy lasting, bound themselves, by mutual promises and oaths, to support each other, and suffer nothing to be undertaken, or carried into execution, without their unanimous consent.

This may be regarded as the final blow to the liberty of Rome. This infamous association was, for some time, kept a secret, and the people could only indulge in conjectures as to the cause of the reconciliation of Pompey and Crassus. By many, it was attributed to the friendly offices of Cæsar. The first effect of this conspiracy was the election of Cæsar to the consulship; but he was disappointed in not being able to elect one of his creatures as his colleague. The Senate, supported by Cato, determined to counteract his efforts, by having recourse to the system of lavish bribery which he practised; and they distributed so much money amongst the venal populace, that Cæsar's candidate was defeated.

Cæsar gained golden opinions from the people by carrying into effect an agrarian law, which seems to have extended only to Campania. Cato, for opposing it, was committed to prison; and Bibulus, Cæsar's colleague in the consulship, was violently driven out of the Forum; and his three tribunes were wounded. Cæsar became the sole acting consul, and he proceeded to secure the knights in his interest by abating a third of the rents which they paid into the treasury. At the expiration of his

consulship, the people, in opposition to the Senate, granted to Cæsar the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with three legions, for the term of five years; and the Senate, when the government of Transalpine Gaul became vacant, decreed it to him, to prevent his recurring a second time to the people.

Cæsar, to secure the continuance of the alliance, gave to Pompey, in marriage, his daughter Julia, a beautiful and most accomplished young lady. And Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Calpurnius Piso, whom the triumviri had selected for one of the consuls next year. Cæsar, soon after, went into Gaul, where (as his Commentaries, written in a style of beautiful simplicity, shew) he equalled, if not surpassed, the greatest of his predecessors in military skill, prudence, and bravery.

B. C. 57. Clodius, a man of an infamous character, elected tribune, proposed several popular laws to ingratiate himself with the people, that he might be enabled to wreak his vengeance on Cicero. And this great orator, so lately hailed as the saviour of his country, was now forced into banishment for putting Catiline's accomplices to death. Cicero supplicated the protection of Pompey, whom he had immortalized in one of his splendid orations; but Pompey refused to afford him any assistance, meanly alleging in excuse, that he would not act in opposition to Cæsar. The banishment of Cicero was, evidently, a measure preconcerted by the triumviri, who feared the effects of his eloquence, and knew his attachment to the senatorial party. Before he withdrew from his country, he deposited a small statue of Minerva, which had long been revered in his family, as a tutelar deity, in the temple of Jupiter, that in the plunder of his house, this sacred guardian might not be profaned by impious hands. He left Rome in the night, escorted by a numerous guard of friends, who, after two days' journey, took their leave with expressions of the greatest affection.

Clodius obtained a decree, "That as Cicero had put Roman citizens to death, unheard and uncondemned, he should be interdicted from fire and water; that no one should presume to harbor or receive him on pain of death, and that whoever should move for the recalling of him, should be treated as a public enemy." This vindictive tribune, immediately, plundered and demolished Cicero's houses, both in the city and country; and built, upon the area of his house in Rome, a temple to the goddess of *Liberty*!

The character of Cicero appears to little advantage during

his banishment; for, although he was plentifully supplied with all the means of obtaining the comforts and luxuries of life, and was received every where with the highest marks of respect, his letters, during this period, evince that he had not imbibed the spirit of that philosophy which his works inculcate. He gave way to despondency, and he constantly speaks of his tears and his misery. "I must lay down my pen," he writes; "my tears flow too fast to allow me to proceed." And he often regrets, that he passively submitted to his enemies, and had not recourse to arms.

This great man, who had been the saviour of his country, who had feared, in the support of that cause, neither the insults of a desperate party, nor the daggers of assassins, when he came to suffer for the same cause, sank under the weight. He dishonored that banishment which might have rendered his glory complete. Uncertain where he should go, or what he should do, fearful as a woman, and froward as a child, he lamented the loss of his rank, of his riches, and of his splendid popularity. His eloquence served only to paint his misery in stronger colors. He wept over the ruins of his fine house; and his separation from Terentia, whom he repudiated not long afterwards, (on the plea that she was peevish and expensive, but, in reality, that he might marry a beautiful young woman with a good fortune,) was, perhaps, an affliction to him at the time. Every thing becomes intolerable to the man who is once subdued by grief. He regrets what he took no pleasure in, and, overloaded already, he shrinks at the weight of a feather. Cicero's behavior was such, that his friends, as well as his enemies, believed him to have lost his senses. Cæsar heard, with secret satisfaction, of the man, who had refused to be his lieutenant, weeping under the rod of Clodius. Pompey hoped to find some excuse for his own ingratitude, in the contempt which the friend, whom he had abandoned, exposed himself to. Nay, Atticus, the celebrated timeserver, judged him too nearly attached to his former fortune, and reproached him for it. Atticus blushed for Tully, and the most plausible man alive assumed the style of Cato.

After an exile of sixteen months, Cicero was recalled, and all Italy, as he records, brought him back on its shoulders. The whole road from Brundisium to Rome was lined on both sides with crowds of men, women, and children; and statues and public honors were every where decreed him. The Senate ordered that Cicero's losses of property should be repaired, and his houses rebuilt at the public cost. Pompey again

professed himself the friend of Cicero, and was supported by the advice and influence of the orator. And Cicero recommended himself to Cæsar, by proposing that the command of the hero of Gaul should be continued till he had finished the war, which he was carrying on with splendid success.

Cicero composed a poem in compliment to Cæsar; and in one of his letters, relating to his present alliance, he most sadly betrays his want of principle. "To confess the truth, I find it difficult to digest the meanness of recanting old principles. But adieu, to all right, true, honest counsels. It is incredible what perfidy there is in those who want to be leaders. I felt what it was to my cost, when I was drawn in, deserted, and betrayed by them. You will tell me, you advised me, indeed, to act, but not to write: it is true, but I was willing to put myself under a necessity of adhering to my new alliance (with the triumviri) and preclude the possibility of returning to those who, instead of pitying me, as they ought, never cease envying me. But since those who have no power will not love me, my business is to acquire the love of those who have. You will say, I wish that you had done it long ago; I know you wished it; and I was a mere ass for not minding you." Here is the gross selfishness of an apostate, who shamelessly glories in his own degradation. Indeed, a man who laments, with all the bitterness of grief, a reverse of fortune, shows that he attaches supreme importance to his external possessions, that mammon is his god, and the object of a devoted idolatry; and that all his professions and principles will be disregarded and renounced, and his party abandoned at the suggestions of gross self-interest. Let no such man be trusted.

B. C. 54. Pompey and Crassus became candidates for the consulship; and so great was the dread of their resentment, that there were no competitors. Cato, however, at last, induced his brother-in-law, Domitius, to offer himself; but, they were attacked by night by the friends of the two tyrants, and narrowly escaped assassination; so that Pompey and Crassus were elected without farther opposition. And, Cicero gave his countenance to these proceedings; and, in a letter to a friend, again exposes the baseness of his own conduct. His vanity was deeply wounded by, what he calls, the jealousy of the Catonian party. "I will own, that their malice has almost driven me from those principles, which I have so long and so invariably pursued. At least, if they have not driven me so far, as to make me forget the dignity of my character, they have taught me, that it is high time I should act with a view

to my own safety. Gratitude and prudence have determined me to join in their interest, (that of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.) You are sensible, how difficult it is to renounce our old and habitual notions of politics, especially under a firm persuasion of their rectitude."

The vanity of Cicero was gratified to the utmost by being admitted into the private counsels of the consuls; and he writes to the pro-consul Lentulus, relating to the affairs of the king of Egypt, whose dominions the Romans were now coveting, as if he and the triumviri were the legally constituted sovereigns of the Commonwealth. The authorities of the State had absolutely forbidden any interference at this time in the politics of Egypt; but, Cicero, in defiance of all law and government, gives advice in direct opposition to the determination of the Senate, which he terms the warm dictates of an exasperated faction, and says, "If you are well satisfied of being able to make yourself master of that kingdom, we (Cicero, Pompey, and Crassus) are clearly of opinion, that you should not delay your march one moment. The world will be determined in their opinion of this whole transaction, not as it is reasonable, but as it shall be successful. These are our concurrent sentiments." And this philosopher, (who, in his works on Ethics writes so elegantly, and with such apparent conviction of the surpassing beauty of Virtue,) concludes his Machiavelian epistle with suggesting, "as a useful caution, that both of them should endeavor to preserve a proper poise between their interest and their honor, and not to advance one by an undue depression of the other; a maxim which I have learnt not so much from my favorite philosophy, as from sad experience." Many of the letters of Cicero, if placed in juxtaposition with his work *De Officiis*, (on moral duties,) would form a striking, but melancholy contrast: he writes of beauty, and illustrates it by deformity.

At this time, Pompey attempted by illegal means to deprive Cato of the prætorship. To secure his competitors from impeachments for bribery, he induced or compelled the Senate to decree, that the new prætors should enter on their office immediately after the votes were given. (An interval of sixty days was by law allowed for examining whether bribery had been practised in the election, and for prosecuting the guilty.) But the first century having given their votes for Cato, Pompey broke up the assembly, on the pretence that he saw something inauspicious in the heavens. In the election for ædiles, the contention was so fierce that lives were lost, and



Pompey's robe was stained with the blood of some one slain near him. The consuls having drawn lots for the provinces, Crassus obtained Syria, and Pompey, Spain. The latter, contrary to all precedent, governed his province by lieutenants for six years, and remained himself all the time in Rome. Crassus, highly elated with the prospect of the immense treasures which his Eastern province promised, proceeded, immediately, to take possession. He acted the part of a publican rather than of a general, carefully examined the revenues of the province, and used every method of exaction to enrich himself. He plundered the temple of Jerusalem; and is said to have taken from it 10,000 talents. He then crossed the Euphrates, and hastened to make himself master of Parthia. He was met in a large plain by the Parthians, and a battle was fought, in which the Romans were completely defeated; 20,000 were killed, and 10,000 were taken prisoners. The darkness of the night favored the escape of the rest; but Crassus, forced by the mutiny and turbulence of his soldiers, and the treachery of his guides, trusted himself to the general of the enemy, and was put to death. His head was brought to Orodes, king of Parthia, when sitting at a nuptial feast; and the barbarians amused themselves with the ghastly object, and poured melted gold into the mouth of him, who was lately the richest man in the Roman Commonwealth, and the arbiter of the fortune and lives of millions of his fellow creatures. B. C. 52.

Cicero was now in active correspondence with Cæsar, and refused to become one of Pompey's lieutenants in Spain, after he had consented to accept the office. The design of Cæsar was to use Cicero as a spy and check upon Pompey. The union between the two great generals, that had been for a time cemented by family alliance, was now relaxed by the death of Julia; and the jealousy of Cæsar was much excited by the rumor, that there was an intention to make Pompey Dictator. Cicero says, it is difficult to say whether Pompey really desires it or not. Cicero was placed in a great strait. He was anxious to keep on terms of friendship with the two greatest men of the Roman Commonwealth, both of whom were evidently aiming at sovereign power.

The dreadfully turbulent and seditious state of Rome at this time, appears from the bloody encounter between the partizans of Milo and Clodius. The latter was killed, and the next day, the mob carried the naked body into the Forum, and afterwards into the Senate-house, where they tore up the benches

and tables, prepared a funeral pile in the building, and burnt the house itself. The Senate, to save the city from this state of wild confusion, elected Pompey sole consul, even with the approbation of Cato, who declared, that any government was preferable to anarchy, and that he thought no man better qualified than Pompey to hold the reins of government in a time of so great disorder. But he replied to Pompey, who warmly expressed his gratitude. "You owe me no thanks: what I said in the Senate was with a view to serve the Commonwealth, not to serve you; if you consult me in private, I will freely give you my advice; and in public, I shall always speak my opinion, though you should not ask it."

Cicero, after a very eloquent, but unsuccessful speech in defence of Milo, undertook the government of Cilicia, where he distinguished himself by the zealous and upright discharge of his civil duties, and obtained great praise for his generalship, for which he expected the honor of a thanksgiving; and his vanity even entertained hopes of a triumph. The private letter, which he wrote to Cato on this occasion, admirably illustrates the besetting weakness of his character. Cicero had deeply studied human nature, and could penetrate far into the characters and designs of others; yet, on the subject of self-knowledge, he displays the ignorance of a child. Cato would read with a smile of pity, if not of contempt, the following importunate appeal for his friendly offices to support the purport of his application to the Senate:

"To Marcus Cato:—The great authority you bear in the Republic, together with the high esteem I have ever entertained of your uncommon virtues, make me look upon it as a point of much consequence to me, that you should be apprized of the success of my arms; of the disinterested protection I have given to our allies: and of the integrity of my administration in general. And I doubt not, when you shall be informed of these several articles, I shall find the less difficulty in persuading you to comply with the request I am going to make." (After a detail of his campaign, he proceeds.) "And now, if a motion should be made in the Senate concerning the honors due to the success of my arms, I shall esteem it the highest glory to be supported in my pretensions by your suffrage. I am sensible it is usual for the gravest characters to request, as well as to be requested for favors of this nature, in the strongest terms, but I persuade myself it will be more proper for me to remind, than to solicit you, in the present instance. You have frequently distinguished me, not only with your vote, but

with your highest applause, both in the Senate, and in the assemblies of the people. And, believe me, I have ever thought there was so much weight and authority in all you uttered, that a single word of yours in my favor was the highest honor I could possibly receive. I remember upon a certain occasion, when you refused to vote for a public thanksgiving, which was proposed in favor of a very worthy and illustrious citizen, you told the Senate that you should willingly have given your suffrage in support of the honor in question, had it been designed as a reward for any civil services which the consul had performed in Rome. Agreeably to this maxim, you formerly concurred in voting that a public thanksgiving should be decreed to me; not, indeed, for having advanced the glory of our country by my military achievements, (for that would have been a circumstance nothing uncommon,) but for having, in a most singular and unexampled manner, preserved the liberties of the whole Commonwealth, without drawing a sword.

“I forbear to mention the generous share you have taken in all the envy, the difficulties, and dangers to which my life has been exposed; and a far greater you were willing to have taken, if I could have been prevailed upon to have consented. I forbear to mention, likewise, that you considered my enemy as your own, and that, in order to give me a convincing proof of your great regard, you scrupled not to show your approbation even of his death, by defending Milo in the Senate. In return, (and I speak of it, not as a favor for which you are indebted to me, but as a tribute which I owed to truth,) I have been no silent admirer of your virtues; for who, indeed, can suppress his applause of them? In all my speeches, both in the Forum and the Senate, as well as in several pieces I have published, either in our own language, or in Greek, I have ever represented your character as superior, not only to the noblest amongst our contemporaries, but to the most celebrated in history.

“After all you will wonder, perhaps, what should induce me to set so high a value upon these little transient honors of the Senate. I will acknowledge, then, the whole truth, and lay open my heart before you with a freedom becoming that philosophy we cultivate, and that friendship we profess: a friendship delivered down to us from our parents, and improved by many reciprocal good offices.

*“Let me previously observe, that if ever any man was a stranger to vain glory, and a desire of vulgar admiration,*

*it is myself*; and this frame of mind, which I possess by temper, has been still strengthened (if I am not deceived) by reason and philosophy. As an evidence of this appeal to my consulate; in which, as in every other part of my life, though I pursued that conduct, I confess, whence true honors might be derived, yet I never thought they were of themselves an object worthy of my ambition. On the contrary, I refused the government of a very noble province; and, notwithstanding it was highly probable I might have obtained a triumph, yet I forbore to prosecute my pretensions of that kind. I forbore, too, the offering of myself as a candidate for the office of augur, though you are sensible, I dare say, that I might have succeeded without much difficulty. But I will acknowledge, that the injurious treatment which I afterwards suffered, though you always speak of it, indeed, as a circumstance which reflects the highest honor on my character, and as a misfortune only to the republic, has rendered me desirous of receiving the most distinguished marks of my country's approbation. For this reason, I solicited the office of augur, which I had before declined: and, as little as I have once thought the military honors deserved my pursuit, I am now ambitious of that distinction which the Senate usually confers on its successful generals. I will own I have some view, by this means, of healing the wounds of my former unmerited disgrace; and, therefore, though I just now declared that I would not press you upon this article, I recall my words, and most earnestly conjure your suffrage and assistance. I make this request, however, upon the supposition that what I have performed in this campaign shall not appear contemptible in your eye, but, on the contrary, far superior to the actions of many of those generals who have obtained the most glorious rewards from the Senate.

“I have observed (and you are sensible I always listen with great attention whenever you deliver your opinions) that, as often as any question of this nature has come before the Senate, you were less inquisitive into the military than civil conduct of the pro-consul. It was the political ordinances he had established, and the moral qualities he had displayed, that seemed to have the principal weight in determining your vote. If you should examine my pretensions in this view, you will see that, with a weak and inconsiderable army, I found a strong resource against the danger of a very formidable invasion, in the lenity and justice of my government. By these aids I effected what I never could by the most

powerful legions: I recovered the friendship of our alienated allies; firmly strengthened their allegiance to the republic; and conciliated their affections at a time when they were waiting the opportunity of some favorable conjuncture to desert us.

“But perhaps I have expatiated farther upon this subject than is necessary; especially to you, before whom all our allies in general are accustomed to lay their complaints. To them, therefore, I refer you for an account of the benefits they have received by my administration. They will all of them, as with one voice, I am persuaded, give you the most advantageous testimony in my favor, but particularly those illustrious clients of yours, the Cyprians and Cappadocians, to whom I may likewise add your great and royal friend, prince Dejotarus. If thus to act is a merit of the most superior kind; if, in all ages, the number has been far less considerable of those who knew how to subdue their desires, than to vanquish their enemies; he that has given an instance of both, cannot, certainly, but be deemed in Cato’s estimation, at least, to have strengthened his claim to the honors of his country, and to have improved the splendor of his military achievements, by the more unusual lustre of his civil conduct.

“Let me, in the last place, and as in diffidence of my own solicitations, call in Philosophy for my advocate, than which nothing has ever afforded me a more sensible satisfaction. The truth is, she is one of the noblest blessings that the gods have bestowed on man. At her shrine we have both of us, from our earliest years, paid our joint and equal adorations: and while she has been thought by some the companion only of indolent and secluded speculatists, we (and we alone I had almost said) have introduced her into the world of business, and familiarised her with the most active and important scenes. She, therefore, it is that now solicits you in my behalf; and when Philosophy is the suppliant, Cato, surely, can never refuse. To say all in one word, be well assured, if I should prevail with you to concur in procuring a decree I so much wish to obtain, I shall consider myself as wholly indebted for that honor to your authority and friendship. Farewell.”

Cato’s reply became his character, but it highly displeased Cicero. “Cato,” he says, “was shamefully malicious: he gave me what I did not ask, a character of integrity, justice, and clemency, but he denied me what I did. Yet this same man voted a supplication for twenty days to Bibulus: pardon me if I cannot bear this usage.”

Eight years successively had Cæsar been engaged in Gaul in combating the most warlike of the opponents of Rome. He now solicited to obtain the consulship. During his absence Pompey obtained almost sovereign authority; and had been invested, on the motion of Cicero, with an absolute power for five years over all the public stores and corn rents of the Commonwealth, by which means all those who were concerned in the naval, commercial, and landed interest, became his tributaries and dependants. Another law gave him the additional power of equipping any number of ships, and raising any troops, which he thought expedient. Pompey and Cæsar, with dissembled friendship, had joined their interests against the chief of the nobility; and, by bribing and flattering the people, had obtained from them what the Senate would not grant. Now the whole power of the empire was regarded as a prize between the two; and they headed, respectively, two distinct parties in the Republic, the aristocracy and the people; Pompey became the supporter of the former, and Cæsar of the latter. A coalition being formed between Pompey and the patrician party, a resolution was formed to revoke Cæsar's command before the time assigned him was expired; but, it was a resolution which it was extremely difficult to effect.

Cicero, in one of his letters, written at this time, says, "As to political affairs, I have often mentioned to you, that I imagined the public tranquillity could not possibly be preserved beyond the present year: and the nearer we approach to those contentions, which must inevitably arise, the more evident this danger appears. For Pompey is determined most strenuously to oppose Cæsar's being consul, unless he resigns his command: Cæsar, on the contrary, is persuaded that he cannot be safe upon those terms. He has offered, however, to throw up his commission, provided Pompey will do the same. And thus their very suspicious friendship and alliance will probably end at last in an open war. For my own part, I shall be extremely perplexed in what manner to act in that conjuncture: and I doubt you will likewise find yourself under the same embarrassment. On the one hand, I have an interest and connexion with Pompey's party: and, on the other, it is Cæsar's cause alone, and not his friends, that I dislike. You are sensible, I dare say, that so long as the dissensions of our country are confined within the limits of debate, we ought ever to join with the more righteous side: but that as soon as the sword is drawn, the strongest party is always the

best. With respect to our present divisions, I foresee that the Senate, together with the whole order of judges, will declare in favor of Pompey; and that all those of desperate fortunes, or who are obnoxious to the laws, will list themselves under the banners of Cæsar."

## CHAPTER XXV.

### GAUL AND BRITAIN.

B. C. 58-50. Gaul, exclusive of the Roman province, was, at the commencement of Cæsar's expedition, divided into three principal parts, Aquitain, Celtic Gaul, and Belgic Gaul.

Aquitain, the smallest of the three, was bounded on the north by the river Garonne, on the south by the Pyrenees, on the west by the ocean, and on the east by the Roman province.

The largest of the three, named Celtic Gaul, because inhabited by a people who called themselves Celtæ, though by the Romans they were called Galli, (Gauls,) had for its boundaries the ocean on the west, the Rhine on the east, the Garonne on the south, and the Seine and Marne on the north.

The two last-named rivers made the southern boundary of Belgic Gaul. On its other sides, it was encompassed by the British channel and the lower Rhine.

The ancient history of the Gauls is enveloped in obscurity. The country, at different periods, seems to have become too populous to support the inhabitants, and hence they poured forth in vast multitudes, and subdued, and settled in other nations. They became terrible to all the neighboring people. The earliest excursion of these warlike barbarians, of which we have any distinct account, was into Italy under a celebrated leader, Bellovesus, about 622 years before Christ. He crossed the Rhone and the Alps, defeated the Etrurians, and seized upon that part of the country, since known by the names of Piedmont and Lombardy. The second grand expedition was made by the Cænomani, a people dwelling between the rivers Seine and Loire. They settled in those parts of Italy now known by the names Brexiano, Cremonese, Mantuan, Carniola, and Venitian. In a third excursion, two other Gaulic nations settled on both sides the river Po; and in a



fourth, the Boii and Lingones settled in the country between Ravenna and Bologna.

The fifth expedition of the Gauls, (the Senones,) was under Brennus, who were, eventually, defeated by Camillus. Some other expeditions were undertaken against the Romans. Though the barbarians, in consequence of their want of military discipline, were always finally defeated when they fought with the Romans, yet their fierceness and courage made them so formidable that, on the first news of their approach, extraordinary levies of troops were made, sacrifices and public supplications offered to the gods, and the law, which granted an immunity from military service to priests and old men, was, for the time, suspended.

The Gauls having experienced their inferiority to the Romans, extended their ravages to the east. About 279 B. C., they sent out three great colonies, which entered Pannonia, (or Hungary,) Thrace, Illyricum, and Macedonia, but they were generally defeated, and, after having endeavored to gain possession of Delphi, in order to plunder the temple, an immense body of these lawless plunderers was destroyed with great loss.

The Gauls were anciently divided into many different nations, which were continually at war with each other, and at variance among themselves. Not only all their cities, cantons, and districts, but almost all families were torn and divided by factions, and thus they were with less difficulty subdued. Most of these States were under an aristocratic form of government; but several were governed by kings, not hereditary and absolute, but elective, and of very limited authority. Some States, as the Helvetii, had so great an aversion to regal government, that death was the punishment of any individual aiming at sovereignty, and they burnt alive those convicted of this crime.

Kings and magistrates were elected, laws made, important causes tried, in the great council of each nation, which met at stated times, and also on extraordinary occasions. When war was the subject of deliberation, all who had reached the age of puberty were obliged to assemble armed; and to enforce punctual attendance, he who came last was put to death, in sight of the multitude, with the greatest torture.

There was a very numerous class among them, who were denied the rights and privileges of freemen, and though not actually slaves, they were not admitted into the public assemblies. Many of them, oppressed by debt, by excessive tributes,

or by the tyranny of the more powerful, were reduced almost to the state of bondsmen.

The influential portion of the Gallic nation was divided into three classes, the Druids, the Equites, (or nobles, or knights) who fought on horseback; and the Bards, or Poets.

The Gauls were of large stature, and of fair complexion, with long and ruddy hair, (the color of which they heightened by a certain kind of wash) which they turned back over the crown of the head to the neck. They, and the European nations in general, wore no covering on their heads. They were fond of dress, and wore gold chains around their necks and on their arms; and the magistrates, embroidered clothes of different colors. Their arms were a long sword, a spear or lance, with an iron point a foot and a half long; a large shield, adorned by each with his proper device; a brazen helmet; and some had an iron breastplate. They used a trumpet, that produced a dreadful sound, which, when on the point of engaging the enemy, they augmented by the war song, by howlings, and by striking their shields.

They were fierce and warlike, prompt to engage, but simple and void of all artifice, employing no means to ensure success but force and courage. Hence, they were frequently defeated by stratagems. Though arrogant when victorious, they were dejected when defeated. They were fond of revolutions, and easily excited to war, but were much depressed under any reverse of fortune. Their disposition was very irascible, so that, when provoked, their fury was ungovernable. Their first onset was impetuous, but they could not sustain a long and steady resistance.

They were accustomed to carry the heads of those whom they killed in battle, suspended from the necks of their horses, or fixed on lances, and set them on the gates of their cities. The skulls of the most distinguished leaders of the enemy, they adorned with gold, and used as cups. Livy says, "that the Gauls cut off the head of the Roman general, Postumius, and carried it in triumph into a temple, which they held in the highest reverence. Afterwards, emptying the head, as their custom is, they encased the skull with gold, and used it as a consecrated vessel, out of which they made libations on high festivals; and as a cup to be drunk out of by the priests of the place."

It was a custom peculiar to the Gauls, not to permit their sons to come into their presence in public, till they had reached the age of manhood, and were able to bear arms. In contracting marriage, the men added an equal sum to that which

they received with their wives by way of portion, and the survivor enjoyed the whole. The men had the power of life and death over their wives, and also over their children. If any suspicion was entertained concerning the cause of the death of any person of rank, the wife was examined by the rack as a slave, and if convicted, was put to death by burning, and every kind of torture.

The funerals of the Gauls were splendid and expensive, according to their rank and fortune. Every thing which was thought to have been agreeable to the deceased, was thrown into the funeral pile. A little before the time of Cæsar, such slaves and dependants, as were known to have been most beloved, were consumed with the corpse: favorite horses and other animals were also heaped upon the funeral pile. Letters addressed to departed relatives were thrown into the pile, that the deceased might deliver them.

They were very fond of feasting, and eat and drank to excess. Their chief liquors were beer and wine. They devoured a great deal of flesh-meat, boiled, roasted, or broiled; and held the piece in their hands, and tore it with their teeth. Sometimes, they made use of a little knife, which they wore at their girdles. When the company was numerous, the Coryphee, or chief of the feast, who was either one of the richest, noblest, or bravest, sat in the middle, with the master of the house by his side; the rest took their places according to their rank, having their servants holding their shields behind them. Their feasts were frequently interrupted by violent disputes, when they challenged one another to single combat, which commonly terminated fatally to some of the parties. Music, songs, and dances formed part of the entertainments: the dancers were completely armed, and beat time on their shields with their swords. On certain festivals they were accustomed to dress themselves in the skins of beasts, and in that attire accompany the processions in honor of their deities or heroes.

The great diversion of the Gauls was hunting; they had also their horse and chariot races, tilts and tournaments, at all of which their bards assisted with their poems, songs, and musical instruments.

The Equites, or Knights, were all warriors, and were attended with several retainers, the number of which was regulated by their rank and fortune. Some of the noblemen had as many as 500 retainers, who devoted themselves to their lord. It was deemed disgraceful to survive him, if he

was slain in the field of battle. Nor was there an instance, says Cæsar, in the memory of man, of any one, who, upon the death of him to whom he had vowed fidelity, refused to submit to the same fate.

When Cæsar entered Gaul, a spirit of faction prevailed through the whole country. The Ædui were at the head of one faction, and the Sequáni of the other; who, being inferior to the Ædui, sought aid from Ariovistus, king of the Germans, by which means they, in their turn, became superior. Cæsar having subdued the Helvetii, and defeated the Germans, restored the pre-eminence to the Ædui. Artfully employing their assistance, and that of the Rheni, whom he had likewise gained, he vanquished the other States, one after another; first, the Belgæ, who were the bravest of the Gauls, particularly that tribe of them called the Bellovari; then the Veneti, a nation powerful by sea; the Morini; the Treviri; and the Nervii. At last, a combination of the different States was formed, first by Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, and afterwards of almost all Gaul under Vercingetorix, a nobleman of the Arverni; but all their efforts were in vain against the discipline of the Roman armies, and all Gaul was reduced by Cæsar to a Roman province.

In the course of this war, Cæsar, it is said, either took by force eight hundred towns, or made them yield to the terror of his arms; subdued three hundred different nations; defeated in battle three millions of men, of which more than one million were killed in the field, and another million made prisoners.

The ninth and last year of his government was spent in peace. In his winter quarters in Belgium, he assiduously exerted himself to ingratiate himself with the Gauls, and deprive them of all pretence for revolt. He treated the several States with respect, imposed no new burdens upon them, and was extremely liberal to their chiefs. By these means he prevailed with them, wearied and exhausted by long and unsuccessful wars, to embrace the ease and quiet attendant on their present submission.

**BRITAIN.**—When the Romans invaded Britain, it was divided into a number of small independent States. The chief States were the Cantii, inhabiting Kent; Trinobates, Middlesex; Belgæ, or Regni, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somersetshire; Durotriges, Dorsetshire; Damnonii, Devonshire, and Cornwall; Atrebates, Berkshire; Silures, South Wales; Ordovices, North Wales; Icenii, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, &c., Brigantes, Yorkshire; and several others.

Britannia Barbara, called also Caledonia, was never subdued by the Romans; they did not penetrate farther than the Gram-pian mountains. It was inhabited by the Caledonians and Picts, so called because they painted their bodies. Scoti, Scots, are mentioned only by later writers, and are generally supposed to have come from Ireland; but by some, they are reckoned a colony of Saxons.

All ancient writers agree in representing the first inhabitants of Britain as a tribe of Gauls or Celtæ, who peopled that island from the neighboring continent. Their language was the same, their manners, their government, their superstition; varied only by those small differences, which time or a communication with the bordering nations must necessarily introduce. The inhabitants of Gaul, especially in those parts which lie contiguous to Italy, had acquired, from a commerce with their southern neighbors, some refinement in the arts, which gradually diffused themselves northwards, and spread but a very faint light over the island of Britain. The Greek and Roman navigators or merchants (for there were scarcely any other travellers in those ages) brought back the most shocking accounts of the ferocity of the people, which they magnified, as usual, in order to excite the admiration of their countrymen. The south-east parts, however, of Britain, had already, before the age of Cæsar, made the first and most requisite step towards a civil settlement; and the Britons, by tillage and agriculture, had there increased to a great multitude. The other inhabitants of the island still maintained themselves by pasture; they were clothed with the skins of beasts; they dwelt in huts, which they reared in forests and marshes, with which the country was covered; they shifted easily their habitations, when actuated either by the hopes of plunder or the fear of an enemy. The convenience of feeding their cattle was even a sufficient motive for removing their seats; and as they were ignorant of all the refinements of life, their wants and their possessions were equally scanty and limited.

Each State was governed by a king or chief magistrate, and under him by several chieftains, who ruled each his own tribe with a kind of subordinate authority. Cæsar mentions four kings of the Cantii, or people of Kent; their power, however, was very limited. One of the chief parts of the regal office was to command in war; which these sovereigns always executed in person, whether they were kings or queens; for, in this respect, as in succeeding to the crown, there was no regard paid to distinction of sexes.

The Britons were much more united with respect to religious than political matters. The constant jealousy and frequent hostility which subsisted between the different States, were very unfavorable to external defence. To this want of union, Tacitus ascribes their subjection to the Romans, who, according to their usual artifice, first formed alliances with some of the States, and employed their assistance to crush the rest; and then quarrelling with their allies, they reduced them also: which was the fate of all the allies of Rome.

When Cæsar invaded Britain, there was scarcely in the island any town or city. What was called a town was a number of huts irregularly disposed, at a small distance from one another, generally in the middle of a wood, to which all the avenues were slightly guarded with ramparts of earth, or with trees.

The arms of the Britons were a sword, a short spear, and a shield. Their spear, being used often as a missile weapon, had a thong fixed to it for recovering it; and, at the butt end, there was a round ball of brass, filled with pieces of metal, to make a noise when engaged with cavalry. Some of them were armed with bows and arrows. They did not wear helmets, or use breast-plates; their only defensive armor being small light shields or targets. The principal strength of British forces consisted in infantry; although they had also a numerous cavalry. Some of the nations used chariots, that would contain many warriors, which were armed with scythes at the wheels. These they managed with great dexterity. The chieftains held the reins, while their dependents fought from the chariot.

The ancient Britons, excepting the Druids, were all trained to arms, and even their youthful diversions were of a martial kind. When a male child was born, the mother laid its first food upon her husband's sword, and with the point gently put it into the infant's mouth, praying to the gods of her country, that its death might be in the midst of arms.

The Britons were remarkable for their size, but they are said to have been clumsily formed. They had blue or azure colored eyes, and yellow hair; the hair of the Caledonians was red, like that of the Germans. They painted their bodies with woad, which gave them a bluish appearance. They wore their hair long, shaved their beards, but allowed the hair on the upper lip to grow.

There was amongst them a community of wives.

The Gauls and Britons were very superstitious, and the authority of their kings was greatly controlled by their priests,

called Druids, from a Celtic word meaning oak; for, the Druids commonly resided in thick groves, chiefly composed of the oak. These priests were the first and most distinguished order among the Gauls and Britons; they were chosen out of the best families, and their birth, but more especially their functions, procured them the highest veneration among the people. They were versed in geometry, astrology, natural philosophy, and politics. Whoever refused obedience to them was declared impious and accursed.

Their garments were remarkably long; and when employed in religious service, they always wore a white surplice. They generally carried a wand in their hands; and they wore a kind of ornament, encased with gold, about their necks, called the Druid's egg. Their necks were likewise decorated with gold chains, and their hands and arms with bracelets: they wore their hair very short, but their beards were never cut. In each nation there was an Arch-Druid, who possessed supreme authority over the whole order of the priesthood. He was generally chosen by the suffrages of the rest. It was an office of so great dignity, that the appointment to it was sometimes determined by arms. The British Druids had by some means acquired a superior reputation; and Cæsar supposes the institution came originally from Britain, because those who were desirous of being perfect in the system travelled thither for instruction; but Pliny imagines, that Druidism passed from Gaul to Britain.

The Druids kept some of their opinions secret, and taught others publicly. They taught their pupils a great number of verses, and some of them spent twenty years in learning them. They thought it unlawful to commit their tenets to writing; although in their public transactions, and in their private affairs, they used the Greek letters. Whatever opinions they entertained in private, they worshipped many deities. The names of their two chief divinities were Teutâtes and Hesus. Cæsar says, Mercury is the chief deity, of whom they have many images, and account him the inventor of all arts, their guide and conductor in their journeyings, and patron of merchandise and gain. And next to him are Apollo and Mars, Jupiter and Minerva. Their notions in respect to them are much the same as other nations.

In threatening distempers and the imminent dangers of war, they make no scruple, adds Cæsar, to sacrifice men, or engage themselves by vow to such sacrifices, in which they make use of the ministry of the Druids: for it is a prevalent opinion

among them, that the life of one man cannot be ransomed but by the life of another, insomuch that they have established public sacrifices of this kind. Some prepare huge images of osier twigs, into which they put men alive, and then burn them to death. They prefer for victims such as have been convicted of theft, robbery, or other crimes, believing that such criminals are the most acceptable to the gods: but when they cannot obtain a sufficient number of the violators of the law, they select innocent men for the purpose. When they prove victorious they rear an immense pile, consisting of the cattle which they have taken, and other kinds of plunder, and burn it as an acceptable offering to their gods.

The Druids performed all their acts of worship in the open air, for they thought it derogated from the greatness of their gods, to confine them within walls. Several circles of stones are to be seen in different parts of Britain, and the Western Isles, which are supposed to have been Druidical temples.

In what Celtic nation (not only the Scythians and Pannonians, but also the ancient inhabitants of Germany, Britain, Gaul, and Spain, come under the general denomination of Celts) this order was first instituted is uncertain; but, there can be no doubt, that before the time of Julius Cæsar, it was generally established in Britain, Gaul, and Germany. The Druids not only presided in religious concerns, but had the education of youth, decided all controversies public and private, pronounced sentence, decreed rewards or punishments; and if any one, whether in a public or a private station, refused to submit to their decrees, they interdicted him the sacrifices. They had great power in the state, and supported their influence and authority by the aid of their dreadful superstition. They were divided into three classes; the Bards, who celebrated the praises of eminent men in songs, accompanied with the lyre; the Eubages, who performed the rites of religion and divination; and the Druids, in the more limited sense of the appellation, who had in their hands the direction of public affairs, the administration of justice, and the education of youth. They clothed their dogmas in an allegorical dress, and delivered them in verse, that they might be more easily remembered. They instructed their disciples in retired groves, or in caverns, and forbade them, under the severest penalties, to divulge the secret doctrines which they were taught, or to commit them to writing. None but priests were permitted to chastise delinquents. It is probable that the Celts and Sarmatians in Europe, and the Medes and Persians in Asia, were



derived from one common stock, the Asiatic Scythians. The same religious tenets, which the Persians had received from the Scythians, were probably also embraced by the Celts, and by them transmitted, in their migrations, through Germany, Gaul, and Spain.

The savage manner in which the Cimbrian women performed their divinations is thus described by Strabo: "The women who follow the Cimbri (a people of Germany) to war, are accompanied by grey-haired prophetesses in white vestments, with canvass mantles fastened by clasps, a brazen girdle, and naked feet. These go with drawn swords through the camp, and striking down the prisoners they meet, drag them to a brazen kettle. This has a kind of stage above it, on which the priestess ascending, cuts the throats of the victims; and from the manner in which the blood flows into the vessel, she judges of the future event. Others tear open the bodies of the captives thus butchered, and from inspection of the entrails presage victory to their own party."

From the Edda (an ancient book compiled from records or traditions, by an Icclander in the twelfth century) it appears, that the Northern nations had an idea of an eternal Deity, prior to the formation of the material world, and that by his energy on the chaotic mass, which they call the Deep, the sun, moon, and stars, and all other material bodies were produced. They also conceived of the human soul as of divine origin, rational and immortal. Their contempt of death seems to have originated from an expectation of immortality. According to Cæsar and Diodorus Siculus, they thought that the soul at death, passes from one body to another. But, the mythological language of the ancient Edda every where represents the future life, as an assembly of good or bad men, in a state of reward or punishment, and only speaks of a return to life for the purpose of reuniting the soul and body, after the soul has passed through a necessary course of purification, previous to its admission into the regions of the happy. But, to those brave spirits who died in battle, the gates of the palace of Odin were immediately opened, and they were to live in his hall in the full enjoyment of every thing which had delighted them on earth. They who had been guilty of great crimes were to be consigned to Hela, where they were to remain in punishment till *the twilight of the gods*, a term by which is denoted a general restitution of all things, when, after the burning of the world, a new period of existence would commence.

If the Druids practised medicine, it was rather as an instrument of superstition, than as an art founded upon science, as sufficiently appears from the wonderful powers which they ascribed to the mistletoe.

Tacitus observes that Cæsar rather discovered than conquered Britain. Cæsar, having received intelligence, perhaps not well authenticated, but easily credited, that in all his wars with the Gauls, they had received assistance from Britain, resolved to attempt the conquest of the island. Of his intention the inhabitants were apprized; and when he reached the coast, the cliffs were covered with armed men, ready to oppose his landing. After considerable delay, Cæsar, at length, brought his balistæ into action, and by sending forth showers of darts, he drove the enemy to some distance from the shore. The Roman soldiers demurring to leap into the sea, one of the standard-bearers cried out aloud, "Follow me, fellow soldiers, unless you will betray the Roman eagle into the hands of the enemy; for my part I am resolved to discharge my duty to Cæsar and the Commonwealth." Instantly he jumped into the sea, advanced with the eagle, and was followed by all that were in the vessel. This example was followed by the rest.

After some resistance, he landed, as is supposed, at Deal; and having obtained several advantages over the Britons, and obliged them to promise hostages for their future obedience, he was constrained by the necessity of his affairs, and the approach of winter, to withdraw his forces into Gaul. The Britons, relieved from the terror of his arms, neglected the performance of their stipulations; and the haughty conqueror resolved next summer to chastise them for this breach of treaty. He landed with a greater force; and though he found a more regular resistance from the Britons, who had united under Cassibelanus, one of their petty princes, he discomfitted them in every action. He advanced into the country; passed the Thames in the face of the enemy; took and burned the capital of Cassibelanus; established his ally, Mandubratius, in the sovereignty of the Trinobantes; and having obliged the inhabitants to make new submissions, he again returned with his army into Gaul, and left the authority of the Romans more nominal than real in the island.

He did no more, says Tacitus, than show the island to posterity. Rome could not boast of a conquest. The civil wars broke out soon after, and, in that scene of distraction, when the swords of the leading men were drawn against their

country, it was natural to lose sight of Britain. During the peace that followed, the same neglect continued. Augustus called it the wisdom of his counsels, and Tiberius made it a rule of State policy. That Caligula meditated an invasion of Britain is a fact well known; but, the expedition, like his mighty preparations against Germany, was rendered abortive by the capricious temper of the man, resolving always without consideration, and repenting without experiment. The grand enterprise was reserved for the emperor Claudius, who transported into Britain an army composed of regular legions, besides a large body of auxiliaries.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### THE CIVIL WARS.

B. C. 48. Cæsar having ascertained that he would not be allowed to stand as a candidate for the consulship, whilst he retained his command in Gaul, wrote an indignant and menacing letter to the Senate, in which he stated that he was willing to resign his command, provided Pompey did the same, and that, as there could be no safety for him on any other terms, he would immediately, if this were not complied with, march into Italy, and revenge the injuries done both to himself and the liberties of the Commonwealth. This letter was received by the Senate with just indignation, and considered as an open declaration of war. Accordingly, they voted, that if Cæsar did not resign his command, by a certain day, named in the decree for that purpose, he should be deemed an enemy to his country. This decree was protested against by Curio, (a young patrician of great ability, but most depraved morals, who owed about twenty millions of dollars, and whom Cæsar had bought) by Q. Cassius Longinus, and by Mark Antony, tribunes. The contest between the consuls and tribunes continued for several days, and at last, the Senate had recourse to the decree, which was issued only in cases of extreme danger, "That the consuls, prætors, and tribunes of the people, and the pro-consuls near Rome, should take care, that the Commonwealth received no detriment." Antony and Cassius left the city the same night, disguised like slaves, and went to Cæsar, and inflamed the passions of the soldiers by an exaggerated statement of the treatment which they had received in vindicating the claims of their beloved general. "My friend Cæsar," writes Cicero, "has the assurance, notwithstanding the express prohibition of the Senate, to continue at the head of his army, and in the government of his province. Never were our liberties in more imminent danger; as those who are disaffected to the Commonwealth, were never headed by a chief more capable, or better prepared to support them. We are raising forces with all

possible diligence, under the authority, and with the assistance of Pompey, who now begins, somewhat too late, I fear, to be apprehensive of Cæsar's power. In the mean time I act with great moderation; and this conduct renders my influence with both parties so much the stronger."

The consuls went to Pompey, and presenting him with a sword, said, "We require you to take upon you with this, the defence of the Republic, and the command of her troops." Pompey accepted the office. The province of Cæsar was given to Domitius. Pompey had boasted, "that he needed but to stamp with his foot, and an army would start out of the ground;" but he had not duly considered the seditious state of Italy, and the great popularity of Cæsar. Cæsar, expeditious in all his movements, (one great cause of his success,) proceeded to the Rúbicon, a river which parted Cisalpine Gaul from Italy. There was a law which forbade the commander of Gaul, under penalty of treason, to pass the Rubicon with his army homeward, without express authority from the State.

Plutarch says, "When he arrived at the banks of the Rubicon, staggered by the greatness of his attempt, he stopped to weigh with himself the dangers of his enterprise; and, as he stood revolving in silence the arguments on both sides, he many times changed his opinion. After which he deliberated upon it with such of his friends as were near him, enumerating the calamities which the passage of that river would bring upon the world, and the reflections that might be made upon it by posterity. At last, upon some sudden impulse, bidding adieu to his reasonings, and plunging into the abyss of futurity, in the words of those who embark in doubtful and arduous enterprizes, he cried out, 'The die is cast!' and immediately plunged into the river. He travelled so fast the rest of the way, that he reached Arimium before day-light, and took the town."

The activity of Cæsar struck the opposite party with the greatest terror. Pompey left Rome, and retired to Brundisium. Cicero says, "All the worthier part of the Republic have withdrawn from the city." Pompey was besieged, and was obliged to leave the town. He embarked with all his troops, and proceeded to Dyrrhachium, a city of Macedonia. Cæsar hastened to Rome, and in sixty days all Italy acknowledged his power. Pompey had unaccountably left Rome without removing the treasures, which were kept in the temple of Saturn. Cæsar seized, it is said, 300,000 pounds weight of gold, and with this immense sum, he raised troops all over

Italy, and sent governors into all the provinces subject to the Republic.

A little before Pompey shut himself up in Brundisium, Cicero, in the midst of the horrors of this civil war, thus writes to one of his friends: "Was there ever a more absurd mortal than your friend Pompey, to act in so trifling a manner, after having raised such terrible commotions? Let me ask, on the other hand, whether you ever heard or read of a general, more undaunted in action, or more generous in victory, than our illustrious Cæsar? Look upon his troops, my friend, and tell me whether one would not imagine by the gaiety of their countenances, that instead of having fought their way through the severest climates, in the most inclement season, they had been regaling themselves in all the delicacies of ease and plenty. And now, will you not think that I am immoderately elated? The truth of it is, if you knew the disquietude of my heart, you would laugh at me for thus glorying in advantages in which I have no share. But I cannot explain this to you till we meet. For it was Cæsar's intention to order me to Rome, as soon as he should have driven Pompey out of Italy; and this I imagine he has already effected, unless the latter should choose to suffer a blockade in Brundisium."

In another letter, he writes, "The flames of war, you see, have spread themselves through the whole Roman dominions, and all the world have taken up arms under our respective chiefs. Rome, in the mean time, destitute of all rule or magistracy, of all justice or control, is wretchedly abandoned to the dreadful inroads of rapine and devastation. In this general anarchy and confusion, I know not what to expect: I scarcely know even what to wish."

Cicero had an interview with Cæsar at this time, on the return of the latter from Brundisium, after Pompey had fled into Greece. Cæsar endeavored to persuade Cicero to return to Rome, and take his seat in the Senate; but Cicero, with a degree of independence which he seldom exhibited, declared that he must insist on being at full liberty to deliver his sentiments, with respect to Cæsar's intended project of carrying the war into Spain; of which he entirely disapproved, being altogether in favor of peace. But Cæsar would not consent to these terms, and recommending Cicero to think better of the matter, the conference ended, very little, he says, to the satisfaction of Cæsar, and very much to my own. Cicero's son-in-law, Dolabella, had joined Cæsar's party; and his interest, the orator might think, would be a security for him with one

party, whilst by remaining neutral, he would not irreconcilably offend the other.

Cæsar hastened to Spain, where Pompey's interest was very great, and met with some reverses, by which his opponents at Rome were elevated with ardent hopes of success. Many Senators, who had remained neutral, now hastened to Pompey's camp in Greece, imagining that Cæsar was reduced to the last extremity; and amongst these was Cicero, who was received with great marks of joy and friendship. But the triumph of Pompey's party was transient. Cæsar's good fortune and good conduct delivered him out of all his difficulties, and Spain was, in a short time, reduced to submit to his authority.

Marcus Lepidus, to whose care, as prætor, Cæsar had committed the government of the city in his absence, obtained, after the reduction of Pompey's army in Spain, an ordinance of the people for creating a dictator; and pursuant to it, he named Cæsar to that office. Cæsar received the news of his election on his arrival at Marseilles, which city, after a vigorous resistance, he compelled to open its gates. He spent the remainder of the year in Gaul and in the north of Italy, that he might strengthen his army. On his arrival at Rome, he found the city in a very different state from that in which he had left it. Most of the magistrates and Senators had fled to Pompey. During the eleven days of his dictatorship at Rome, he acted with great clemency and moderation; and, by presenting a striking contrast to the conduct of Marius and Sylla, he rivetted the affections of the people, and gained the good will of many of the Senators. Cruelty and malignity, the darkest vices that enter the human mind, formed no part of his character. He recalled the exiles, and manifested a disposition to pardon all who renounced their alliance with Pompey. He filled up the vacancies of the sacerdotal college with his own friends, and got himself, and one of his most zealous partizans, elevated to the consulship.

Having made, with great expedition, all the necessary preparations, he embarked for Greece.

Pompey had for a whole year been assembling troops from all the eastern provinces. Greece, Asia Minor Palestine, and all the nations from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, took up arms in his favor. He had the flower of the young nobility in his army, and his legions consisted of veterans inured to dangers and the toils of war. As the most virtuous men in the Republic had taken refuge in his camp, he was generally

regarded as the only hope and support of public liberty. Among those who joined him was the celebrated Brutus, whose father had been put to death in Galatia by Pompey's order. Sacrificing his private resentment to his views of public interest, he entered the camp of Pompey, by whom he was received with great cordiality.

As soon as Cæsar landed, he marched directly to Oricum, the nearest city in Epirus, and it was taken without opposition. Apollonia opened its gates to receive him, and thus a way was opened to Dyrracchium, where Pompey had his magazines of arms and provisions. Cæsar, however, became much embarrassed at the news that the remainder of his army were prevented, by the success of Bibulus by sea, from leaving Brundisium, and he made proposals of an accommodation. These were rejected by Pompey. Antony, however, at last arrived with the legions, but Cæsar's army were much distressed for provisions. Pompey gained an advantage, and his rival's life was in great danger. But Cæsar soon retrieved his defeat, and marched into Macedon, in the hope of overpowering Scipio.

At length, the two armies met on a large plain near the cities of Pharsalia and Thebes. The soldiers of each party having flung their javelins, had recourse to their swords. Cæsar gained a complete victory, and the battle of Pharsalia finally decided the fate of the Roman Commonwealth, destroyed the expiring liberties of Rome, and gave the conqueror the empire of the world. He pardoned all those whom he had made prisoners, and he imitated the noble example of his defeated opponent on a former occasion, by giving orders that all the letters which were found in Pompey's tent should be burnt. "Although," says Seneca, "he was not disposed to revenge, *yet he rather chose to put it out of his power to resent such injuries, and thought that the most obliging manner of pardoning was to be ignorant of the nature of the offence.*" To the Athenians, who sent deputies to him to solicit their pardon, he granted it, with this reproach, "How long, having merited death by your degeneracy, will you owe your safety to the glory of your ancestors?"

Cicero refused to accede to Cato's urgent request, that he would take upon himself the command of the remaining troops, and returned to Italy to await the clemency of the conqueror. Pompey, whose conduct on this occasion seems inexplicable, when he saw that all was lost, rode full speed to Larissa, and hastened on to Mytelene to his wife Cornelia. They set sail



for Egypt to seek the protection of Ptolemy. The king's ministers gave a favorable answer to the deputation, and invited Pompey to the court of the young prince, who was not yet of age; but dispatched, at the same time, Achilles, captain of the king's guards, and Septimius, a military tribune, with secret orders to assassinate him. They put off from the shore in a small bark, with a few guards, and made towards Pompey's vessel. When on board, they accosted him with an air of frankness, and invited him into the boat. He embraced Cornelia, and ordered two centurions, one of his freedmen named Philip, and a slave, to enter the boat with him. Before he stepped into the boat, he turned to his wife and son, and repeated these words from Sophocles:

"Seek'st thou a tyrant's door? then farewell freedom!

Though free as air before."

During the passage to the shore no one showed him the least civility, or even spoke to him. But recognizing Septimius, he said to him, "I think I remember you to have been my fellow soldier." The barbarian, without uttering a word, merely moved his head. A profound silence again ensuing, Pompey looked over the speech which he had made to deliver before the king. Cornelia, from the shore, watched the proceedings with intense anxiety. She was a little encouraged, when she saw a number of the king's officers coming down to the strand, in all appearance to receive her husband, and do him honor. But the moment Pompey was taking hold of Philip's hand to rise, Septimius came behind, and stabbed him in the back, and was immediately seconded by Achilles. Pompey took his robe in both hands, and covered his face, and without a struggle submitted to his ignominious fate. The murderers cut off his head, and left the body on the shore. His freedman Philip, while gathering some pieces of a broken boat for a funeral pile, was accosted by an old soldier, who had served under Pompey: "Who art thou," he asked, "that art making these sad preparations for Pompey the Great. Thou shalt not have all this honor to thyself: let me partake in an action so just and sacred. It will please me amid the miseries of my exile, to have touched the body, and assisted at the funeral, of the greatest and noblest soldier Rome ever produced." His ashes were carefully collected and carried to Cornelia, who deposited them in a vault in his Alban villa.

A noble column was afterwards erected near the place where

Pompey was murdered. It has resisted the effacing fingers of time, and serves to admonish its admiring beholders of the vain, transitory splendors of human ambition. The whole column is 114 feet high. The shaft, composed of red granite, and upper member of the base, are one piece, and 90 feet long. The base which is a block of marble, is 60 feet in circumference. The capital, which is Corinthian, is nine feet high.

Cæsar, without loss of time, followed Pompey into Egypt, and was presented, by the king's order, with the head and ring of his late rival. He caused the head to be burned with the most costly perfumes, and placed the ashes in a small temple, which he dedicated to Nemesis. He undertook the office of umpire in the quarrel between Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra, which had broken out into open war. Cleopatra, who, by her father's will, shared jointly with her brother in the succession, aimed at a usurpation of the whole authority. Cæsar embraced her cause after an interview, in which he was fascinated by her charms. But this enterprize was attended with great danger. He was for some time closely besieged, but was at last relieved from his mortifying situation by Mithridates Pergameus, one of his most faithful partizans; who collected a numerous army in Syria, marched into Egypt, took the city of Pelusium, repulsed the Egyptian army, and delivered Cæsar from his perilous situation. Ptolemy, attempting to escape, was drowned; and Cæsar, in fact, became master of all Egypt; though he appointed, that Cleopatra, with her younger brother, who was then an infant, should jointly govern.

Cæsar now yielded himself up in captivity to the beautiful queen of Egypt. He abandoned himself to indulgence, and passed whole nights in splendid entertainments. He accompanied her in a tour round the country. They went on board a barge most richly ornamented, and directed their course up the Nile, attended by 400 vessels. His intention was to ascend the river as far as Ethiopia, but his army, in general so subservient to all his schemes, blushed at the effeminacy of their general, and remonstrated so strongly, that a sense of shame, at length, restored to its usual ascendancy over his mind the stronger passion of ambition.

Breaking asunder the silken fetters of the enchantress, he girded on his armor, and proceeded to Pontus to reduce to subjection Pharnaces, who had taken the opportunity, afforded by the civil war, to assert his independence. Cæsar's usual good fortune attended him, and a complete victory was gained.

It was obtained with so much expedition, that he, in a letter to one of his friends at Rome, laconically describes it in these three words, "Veni, vidi, vici," (I came, I saw, I conquered.)

Without delay he hastened to Rome, where, during his absence, he had been created consul for five years, dictator for one year, and tribune of the people for life. The insolent and disorderly conduct of Antony had caused many commotions, which it required the utmost prudence, circumspection, and ability to subdue. The energy, the vigilance, the moderation, and clemency of Cæsar were exerted with astonishing success, and tranquillity was restored; and the city, so long distracted by sedition, and wild disorder, began to experience the blessings of repose.

Cicero, it appears from his letters, experienced once more the clemency of Cæsar; and he was allowed, though he had acted with great duplicity, to follow, without molestation, his favorite studies. "Since my return to Rome," he writes, "you must know I am reconciled to those old companions of mine, my books. Not that I was estranged from them out of any disgust; but that I could not look upon them without some sort of shame. It seemed, indeed, that I had ill observed their precepts, when I was joined with perfidious associates in taking part in our public commotions. They are willing, however, to pardon my error, and invite me to renew my former acquaintance with them."

Cæsar having, by gentle means, cemented his power at home, set sail for Africa, where Pompey's party had rallied under Scipio and Cato assisted by Juba, king of Mauritania. After many movements and skirmishes, he at last determined to come to a decisive battle. His enemies were completely defeated. Juba, and Petreus his general, killed each other in despair; and Scipio, attempting to escape into Spain, was taken and slain.

Cato, in the mean time, was in Utica, the capital of the Roman province. The news of the battle of Thapsus and the utter ruin of Scipio's and Juba's armies caused the greatest consternation. He summoned his council of three hundred, consisting of senators, merchants, and bankers, and endeavored to animate the drooping spirits of his friends. "Rome," he said, "had often emerged out of greater difficulties: the conqueror was perplexed in many hazardous affairs: Spain had revolted to Pompey's sons; and the Romans would unanimously throw off a yoke which they wore with indignation."

"While there is hope, do not distrust the gods;  
But wait at least 'till Cæsar's near approach  
Force us to yield. 'Twill never be too late  
To sue for chains, and own a conqueror.  
Why should Rome fall a moment ere her time?  
No, let us draw her term of freedom out  
In its full length, and spin it to the last,  
So shall we gain still one day's liberty;  
And let me perish, but, in Cato's judgment,  
A day, an hour of virtuous liberty,  
Is worth a whole eternity of bondage.  
Remember, O! my friends, the laws, the rights,  
The gen'rous plan of power deliver'd down,  
From age to age, by your renown'd forefathers,  
(So dearly bought, the price of so much blood)  
O! let it never perish in your hands!  
But piously transmit it to your children.  
Do thou, great Liberty, inspire our souls,  
And make our lives in thy possession happy,  
Or our deaths glorious in thy just defence.  
How beautiful is death when earn'd by Virtue!  
Who would not be that man? What pity is it  
That we can die but once to serve our country.  
O liberty! O virtue! O my country!"

Cato's eloquent patriotism had only a transient effect. Learning that Cæsar was rapidly approaching, and that many of the inhabitants had determined to supplicate the mercy of the conqueror, his only care was now to hasten the departure of the Roman Senators; and calling the inhabitants together, he recommended them to provide for their common safety.

"Farewell, my friends; if there be any of you  
Who dare not trust the victor's clemency,  
Know there are ships prepared by my command,  
(Their sails already opening to the winds)  
That shall convey you to the wish'd for port.  
Is there aught else, my friends, I can do for you?  
The conqueror draws near. Once more farewell!  
If e'er we meet hereafter, we shall meet  
In happier climes, and on a safer shore,  
Where Cæsar never shall approach us more.  
There the brave youth, with love of virtue fired,

Who greatly, in his country's cause, expired,  
Shall know the conquered. The firm patriot there,  
(Who made the welfare of mankind his care)  
Tho' still, by faction, vice, and fortune crost,  
Shall find the gen'rous labor was not lost."

He was told by those who intended to remain, that he could be of no farther service; that they had resolved to intercede for mercy, but more especially for himself. "For me," he said, "intercede not. It is for the conquered to turn suppliants, and for those who have done an injury to beg pardon. For my part, I have been unconquered through life, and superior in the thing I wished to be; for, in justice and honor, I am Cæsar's superior. *Cæsar is the vanquished, the falling man*, being now clearly convicted of those designs against his country which he had long denied." Having affectionately counselled his son, and given good advice to his friends, he went to the bath, and afterwards to supper, in the midst of a large company. All his friends and the magistrates of Utica supped with him; during which many questions in philosophy were proposed and discussed, and Cato warmly defended the noble maxim of the Stoics and of Socrates, "That the good man only is a freeman, and that all bad men are slaves." From the tenor of his conversation, his friends began to apprehend that he meditated self-destruction. But, he endeavored to remove their suspicions by talking of their present affairs, and expressing the deep interest which he felt in the welfare of the friends of liberty. Yet, the extraordinary ardor with which he embraced his son and his friends, renewed their apprehensions. He retired, and began to read Plato's book on the immortality of the soul.

"It must be so — Plato, thou reason'st well —  
Else, whence this pleasing hope, this fond desire,  
This longing after immortality?  
Or, whence this secret dread, and inward horror  
Of falling into nought? Why shrinks the soul  
Back on herself, and startles at destruction?  
'Tis the Divinity, that stirs within us;  
'Tis heaven itself, that points out an hereafter,  
And intimates eternity to man.  
Eternity! thou pleasing, dreadful thought!  
Through what variety of untried being,  
Through what new scenes and changes must we pass!  
The wide, th' unbounded prospect lies before me;  
But shadows, clouds, and darkness rest upon it.

Here will I hold. If there's a power above us,  
 (And that there is, all Nature cries aloud  
 Through all her works,) he must delight in virtue;  
 And that which he delights in must be happy.  
 But when, or where? This world was made for Cæsar.  
 I'm weary of conjectures — this must end 'em.  
 Thus I am doubly arm'd — my death and life,  
 My bane and antidote are both before me.  
 This in a moment brings me to an end;  
 But this informs me I shall never die.  
 The soul secur'd in her existence, smiles  
 At the drawn dagger, and defies its point.  
 The stars shall fade away, the sun himself  
 Grow dim with age, and Nature sink in years;  
 But thou shalt flourish in immortal youth,  
 Unhurt amidst the war of elements,  
 The wreck of matter, and the crush of worlds."

Cato, regarding the cause in which he had ineffectually struggled, as utterly hopeless, and thinking his services no longer of any avail, fell upon his own sword. Cicero pronounced his death to be truly noble; and a character of splendor was stamped upon this method of dying, which it retained for several ages after. The lovers of liberty, for many ages afterwards, looked up to Cato as the most venerable martyr of the republican party. And under the emperors suicide seemed, for a long time, to be perfectly fashionable. In the epistles of Pliny, we find an account of several persons who chose to die in this manner, rather from vanity and ostentation, it would seem, than from what would appear, even to a sober and judicious Stoic, any proper or necessary reason. The prevalence of this fashion certainly occasioned many deaths, which would not otherwise have happened.

The principle of suicide, the principle which would teach us, upon some occasions, to consider that violent action as an object of applause and approbation, is condemned by the dictates of reason, of morality, and religion. It is only a consciousness of our own weakness, of our own incapacity to support the calamity with proper manhood and firmness, which can drive us to this resolution. The splendor of Cato's public character was shorn of its beams by the proud, but, at the same time, dastardly spirit, with which he ignominiously succumbed to the conqueror. He deserted, in the hour of its greatest need, the sacred post which his country called upon

him to defend to his last breath; he threw up an important trust; and, like a coward, he abandoned himself to despair, and dreaded to encounter the perils, and undergo the exertions, and submit to the mortifications which were before him—trials of virtue, which many other patriots, who “held not their life at a pin’s fee,” nobly endured, till they were completely driven out of the field, and deprived of every hope.

Independently of all the awful considerations of religion, which must impress the mind of the Christian with a deep conviction of the impiety, the sinfulness, and the imprudence of suicide; the light of nature aggravates the heinous nature of the crime, by suggesting the duties that are deserted; the claims that are defrauded; the loss, the affliction, the disgrace, which our death, or the manner of it, causes our family, kindred, or friends; by the occasion we give to many to suspect the sincerity of our moral and religious professions, and, together with ours, those of all others; by the reproach we draw upon our order, calling, or sect; in a word, by a great variety of evil consequences attending upon peculiar situations, with some or other of which every actual case of suicide is chargeable.

From Utica, Cæsar proceeded to Rome, where he was received with the loudest acclamations, and had more extravagant honors decreed him than were ever before given to any mortal. It was decreed that there should be feasts and rejoicings for forty days; that his chariot on his triumph should be drawn by four white horses, like those of Jupiter and the sun. He was created dictator for ten years; he obtained the title of *Magister Morum*, (master of the morals;) he received the title of Father of his Country; his statue was placed in the Capitol, opposite to that of Jupiter, with the globe of the earth under his feet, and with this inscription: “To Cæsar, the demigod.”

Cæsar, hitherto, had found no leisure for the celebration of any of the triumphs, which it was usual to grant to the general who extended the dominion of Rome. But now, whilst he was settling the affairs of the empire, he indulged in the pageantry, which not only gratified his own vanity, but engrossed the minds of the servile and venal populace. In one month he enjoyed four triumphs. His first triumph was in celebration of his victories in Gaul; his second, over Ptolemy; his third, over Pharnaces; and his fourth over king Juba. The apparatus of each of these triumphs was different. The most splendid triumph was that over the Gauls, in which were

carried the Rhine and the Rhone, and the captive ocean represented in gold. A multitude of prisoners preceded his chariot, among whom was the chief of confederate Gaul, who had been reserved upwards of six years, for this occasion. After the triumph, these were thrown into a dungeon, and put to death. Cæsar ascended the Capitol by the light of lustres, and flambeaus carried by forty elephants. In the triumph over Egypt, was represented the river Nile, and the Pharos on fire. The money carried in these triumphs amounted to 65,000 talents, and 2,822 crowns of gold.

The triumphs were followed by rewards to his soldiers, and largesses to the citizens; and the whole body of the people was treated with the greatest profusion at 22,000 tables placed in the streets. To these expenses Cæsar added spectacles of all kinds. Several young men of the first families exhibited their servility and flattery by engaging in the chariot races. The Trojan game was acted by two companies of lesser and larger boys, children of the nobility. The hunting of wild beasts was represented for five days together; and, at last, a battle was fought by 500 foot, twenty elephants, and thirty horse on each side. Wrestlers performed for three days together. A lake was sunk, and the people were entertained with the representation of a sea-fight.

Cæsar, now at the summit of all earthly dignities, wanting only the title of king, (divine honors had already been decreed to him,) vigorously prosecuted the important work of consolidating his power. He added 300 new Senators, amongst whom were many Gauls and other foreigners; he advanced many persons of the meanest condition to the highest honors; he transferred 80,000 of the poorer citizens, into colonies beyond the seas; he enacted that no freeman of the city should be allowed to leave Italy for a longer time than three years; he abolished all companies of artificers; he laid duties on the importation of foreign commodities; he appointed commissioners to inspect the markets; he confined the use of coaches, jewels, and scarlet cloth to certain persons; and he sent officers into private houses to take away from the tables any prohibited luxuries. He was indefatigable in attending to the administration of justice, and enforced the laws against crimes by more severe punishments.

Cicero, during these transactions, was living in peace at Rome, and says, "I receive so many marks of respect and esteem from those who are most in Cæsar's favor, that I cannot but flatter myself they have a true regard for me. I am not



sensible that I have any thing to fear from Cæsar. His particular friends pass almost every day of their lives in my company. My little sallies of pleasantry are constantly transmitted to Cæsar by his express directions. I have bidden a total farewell to all the cares of the patriot, and have joined the professed enemies of my former principles; in short, I am become a professed Epicurean. I spend the first part of the morning in receiving the compliments of our dejected patriots and our gay victors. Cæsar is continually giving proofs of greater moderation and generosity than we could once imagine he would have shown."

Having established his authority at Rome, and conciliated by his clemency, many of his enemies, Cæsar set out for Spain, where the sons of Pompey and Labienus, his former general, had raised an army in opposition to his authority. It was the policy of Pompey's sons to protract the war; and the first operations were spent in sieges, and fruitless attempts to surprise each other. At length, Cæsar, after taking many cities, compelled his enemy to come to a general battle on the plains of Munda. At first, the advantage was so greatly in favor of his enemies, that, it is said, Cæsar was in suspense whether he should not follow the example of Cato. But, at length, roused from his despair, he quitted his horse, took up a buckler, and advanced before the first ranks, and within ten feet of the enemy, declaring he would not move from the spot. His example re-animated the courage of his soldiers; and, after a desperately fought battle, Cæsar entirely broke and discomfitted his opponents. Thirty thousand were killed on Pompey's side, among whom were Labienus and Varus, and 3,000 Roman knights. Cæsar, after this bloody battle, which was the last he fought, said, "that in his other battles he fought for victory, but in this for his life." C. Pompey was soon after taken and slain; and the other brother subsequently engaged in various piratical enterprises.

On his return to Rome, Cæsar had another splendid triumph; but it is said that on this occasion the people were sullen and silent. The Senate, however, moulded by himself, were not wanting in flattery and servility. He was declared imperator or commander, (not in the ordinary sense of the word, as the chief commander of a host, but in the new and extraordinary sense of generalissimo of all the forces of the republic,) perpetual and sole Magister Morum, (master of manners,) with the management of the revenues: he was styled the father and deliverer of his country, *and a temple was raised to Liberty!*

on the pretence that he had emancipated the Roman people from tyranny; his person was declared sacred; he was allowed the privilege of wearing constantly a crown of laurel, and on festival days, the triumphal robe; of having a distinct seat in all public shows, a golden chair in the Senate-house and the Forum, a statue in all the towns, and in all the temples of the city; two statues in the rostra; one statue in the temple of Quirinus, with this inscription: "To the invincible god;" and one in the Capitol with those of the ancient kings. He was allowed to hang up the opima spolia in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius; and, in the Circensian games, his image in ivory was ordered to be carried in a chariot in the same manner as the images of the gods. He had a pulvinar, or bed of state, in the temples, on which his image was laid; temples were erected to him; he was called Jupiter Latialis; and a new fraternity of Luperci (the most ancient and respectable of all the sacerdotal offices) was instituted to his honor, and called by his name.

Cicero was the first who proposed that the Senate should confer great honors on Cæsar. Those who followed endeavored to outvie each other in the base work of adulation, and in the profusion of honors, which they heaped upon him. It is said, that his enemies eagerly concurred in this extravagant and impious flattery, that they might raise him to an elevation which would expose him to the shafts of envy and jealousy, and make his fall certain and fatal.

Cæsar, to show his confidence in Cicero, invited himself to spend a day with him at his house in the country. Cicero says, "O, this guest, whom I so much dreaded! Yet I had no reason to repent of him, for he was pleased with his reception. He took a walk on the shore; bathed after two; heard the verses on Mammurra, (a satire on one of Cæsar's generals, who had raised an immense fortune, was notorious for his vices, and is said to have been the first man in Rome who incrustated his house with marble, and made all his pillars of solid marble,) at which he never changed countenance; was rubbed, anointed, and sat down to table. Having taken a vomit just before, he eat and drank freely, and was very cheerful. We had not a word on business, but on many points of literature: he was delighted with his entertainment, and passed the day agreeably."

Cæsar's friends urged him to have a guard, and many offered to serve in that capacity, but he would not suffer it; for he said, "It was better to die once, than to live always in

fear of death." He endeavored to preserve his popularity by feasts and distributions of corn, and the attachment of his soldiers by placing them in agreeable colonies, of which Carthage and Corinth were the most remarkable. His active mind, passionately fond of glory, and his insatiable ambition, urged him to greater enterprises, that he might surpass the splendor of all his former achievements.

"A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,  
No dangers fright him, and no labors tire :  
O'er love, o'er fear, extends his wide domain,  
Unconquer'd lord of pleasure and of pain ;  
No joys to him pacific sceptres yield,  
War sounds the trump, he rushes to the field ;  
Peace courts his hand, but spreads her charms in vain :  
'Think nothing gain'd,' he cries, 'till nought remain.'"

He sent his legions before him into Macedonia, intending to chastise the Dacii, and then to execute summary vengeance on the Parthians, and afterwards to traverse Hyrcania, to enter Scythia, to carry his arms through Germany, and to return to Rome by Gaul.

But the preparations for this grand expedition did not divert his attention from various magnificent designs for the real glory and prosperity of the empire. He undertook to rebuild and repair several towns in Italy, to drain the Pomptine marshes, which, even in the present day, render this part of Italy very unwholesome, to discharge the lake Fucinus; to dig a new bed for the Tiber from Rome to the sea; to form a capacious port at Ostia; to make a causeway over the Appenine mountains from the Adriatic sea to Rome; to rebuild Corinth and Carthage; to cut through the Isthmus of Corinth; to take an exact geographical map of the whole Roman empire. He also employed the learned Varro to collect a library of all the Greek and Latin authors, which he intended for the use of the public, and which was placed by Augustus in the temple of Apollo on mount Palatine; and he formed the design of abridging the collection of Roman laws.

But, the head of Cæsar, at length, became giddy with all the titles, honors, and servile adulation which he received. As dictator, he was invested with supreme power, but his vain and insatiable ambition longed for the title of king—a name odious to the Senate and the people. And some of his creatures, acting in subservience to his insatiable ambition, gave out amongst the people, that it was written in the Sybilline books, "The

Romans could never conquer the Parthians, except their armies were commanded by a king." As he was returning with the pomp of an ovation, amidst the acclamations of the people, he was saluted king by some in the crowd, and a royal diadem, with a crown of laurel, was fixed upon one of his statues. The multitude, however, not responding to these artifices to test public opinion, Cæsar ungraciously said, "My name is Cæsar, not king," and he passed on with an evident air of disappointment.

A few days after, his satellite, Antony, then consul, when Cæsar, in his triumphal robe, was seated upon his golden chair in the rostra, observing the games, made him the offer of a royal diadem, and essayed several times to put it on his head. Only a few plaudits ensued, and from those who were stationed there for the purpose. Cæsar, aware of the sentiments of the people, refused it, on which occasion, the applause was loud and general. Antony tried the experiment again, and again the people indirectly manifested their disapprobation. At last, Cæsar, with ill concealed mortification, declared that Jupiter was the only king of the Romans, and ordered the diadem to be consecrated in the Capitol. Antony, in prosecution of his design, and with a gross perversion of facts, had it entered in the public acts, "That, by *command of the people*, as consul, he had offered the name of king to Cæsar, perpetual dictator, and that Cæsar would not accept it."

Cæsar's friends, determined to gratify his ambition, adorned his statues with royal diadems, but two of the tribunes of the people tore them off. The dictator, highly incensed, deposed and insulted them; and, betrayed by his all-grasping spirit, he, occasionally, let fall the mask of dissimulation, and "bestrode the world like a Colossus." He disdained to act in the capacity of consul, but, arrogantly and ostentatiously displayed his dictatorial authority. Contrary to all custom, he appointed magistrates for several years; he gave ten prætors power to wear the consular ornaments; he appointed his own servants and officers to supervise the mint and revenue; he committed the three legions which he left in Alexandria to the command of one of the infamous ministers of his pleasure.

Nor did his public expressions manifest less insolence and tyranny. He declared that the Commonwealth was only a word, without either body or soul; and that hereafter he would be accosted with more reverence; and that his words should be received as laws.

But he gave great offence to many members of the Senate,

and drew, says Suetonius, the greatest, and inextinguishable hatred on himself from the following circumstance: When the Senators came to him in a body, with most honorable decrees, he received them sitting before the temple of Venus. Some say he would have risen, but was held down; but others affirm, that he had no intention to offer this mark of respect, and that, when it was intimated he ought to rise, he expressed his disapprobation by a withering frown.

“But 'tis a common proof,  
That lowliness is young ambition's ladder,  
Where the climber upward turns his face:  
But when he once attains the upmost round,  
He then unto the ladder turns his back;  
Looks in the clouds, scorning the base degrees  
By which he did ascend.”

Many of the Senators, having ascertained the strong objection of the people to a mere title, the name of king, and calculating on their support, entered into a conspiracy, and determined to assassinate the insolent dictator. Brutus and Cassius were the leaders of the plot, and, joined by sixty of their party, they determined to execute their purpose in the Senate-house. Cæsar's death, we are told by the ancient historians, who delight in the marvellous, was intimated by various unpropitious omens. Strange noises were heard in various quarters by night; solitary birds were seen in the Forum; men of fire were beheld encountering each other in the air; and one of the victims, which Cæsar offered, was found without a heart; as he was in bed, the night before his death, the doors and windows of the room flew open at once; and his wife had alarming dreams; and a certain soothsayer forewarned him of a great danger which threatened him on the ides of March; and, to conclude the list of omens, Suetonius gravely relates, “that not many days before his death, the horses that passed with him over the Rubicon, and which he had consecrated, forebore to eat by common consent, and wept profusely.”

Cæsar, it is said, at first, disregarded these presages, and probably expressed a sentiment similar to that which he uttered when urged to have a body guard; and which the inimitable Shakspeare, true to nature, and to the manners and character of the persons whom he delineates, thus paraphrases:—

"Cowards die many times before their deaths,  
The valiant never taste of death but once.  
Of all the wonders that I yet have heard,  
It seems to me most strange that men should fear ;  
Seeing that death, a necessary end,  
Will come, when it will come."

But the importunity of his wife and some of his friends had, at length, prevailed upon him not to attend the Senate that day; when one of the conspirators came and brought him back to his first resolution. The whole plot, it appears, had been discovered, and a paper was put into his hands containing the particulars, as he was proceeding to the house; but Cæsar handed it to one of his secretaries. As soon as he had taken his place in the Senate, the conspirators approached under the pretence of saluting him. At a signal agreed upon, Casca, who was behind, stabbed him in the shoulder; Cæsar instantly turned round, and, with the style of his tablet, wounded him in the arm. The other conspirators rushing upon him with drawn daggers, he fell down at the base of Pompey's statue, and expired in the fifty-sixth year of his age; and the fourth of his dictatorship.

The expression, "Et tu Brute," said by some historians to have been uttered by him, did not point at Marcus Brutus, the leader of the republican party, whom Cæsar pardoned immediately after the battle of Pharsalia, but at Decimus Brutus, his relation, who had been on very confidential terms with Cæsar, and was constituted by the dictator's will one of his heirs.

Very different opinions have been, and are still entertained, respecting the merit or demerit of this assassination. Cicero, in strong terms, expresses his approbation of the act, and says, "he was present at the death of Cæsar in the Senate, where he had the pleasure to see the tyrant perish as he deserved;" and he regrets, in a letter to Cassius, "that he was not in their councils, and that had he been, he would have put it out of the power of Antony to perplex and embarrass their affairs." And again, "Oh, that you had invited me to that glorious feast you exhibited on the ides of March; I would have suffered none of it to have gone untouched," (alluding to his wish that Antony had also been killed.) The disposition of Cicero speaks for itself; his impotent feelings of malignity and base ingratitude can meet with no sympathy. But, in vindication of Brutus and the other conspirators, whose principles and conduct ought not to be tried by the spirit of that divine

religion which has humanized our feelings, and elevated the standard of morality, it may be urged, that it was a maxim of antiquity, that the guilt which the law could not reach, merited its punishment from the dagger; and that there was an ancient law subsisting, by which every one was authorized to lift up his sword against the man, who should discover any designs of invading public liberty. Brutus and Cassius adopted this maxim; they knew no better, and acted according to the sense of duty which they derived from their laws and their philosophy.

But that a Christian can vindicate assassination under any circumstances, is indeed astonishing. Yet, an amiable poet, in a work rich in beautiful moral sentiment, and glowing with the spirit of liberty, is inconsiderately led by a partial view of the subject to exclaim:

“And speak, O, man! does this capacious scene  
With half that kindling majesty dilate  
Thy strong conception, as when Brutus rose  
Refulgent from the stroke of Cæsar’s fate  
Amid the crowd of patriots, and his arm  
Aloft extending, like eternal Jove,  
When guilt brings down the thunder, called aloud  
On Tully’s name, and shook his crimson steel,  
And bade the father of his country, Hail!  
For lo! the tyrant prostrate in the dust!  
And Rome again is free.”

Not only religion, and the emotions of humanity, but also the dictates of policy, concur to condemn the use of violent means in the most meritorious cause. The universal testimony of history teaches, that the cause of liberty has never been advanced by the pistol or dagger.

The tyrant has indeed no particular sanctity annexed to his person, and may be killed with as little scruple as any other man, when the object is that of repelling personal assault. In all other cases, the extirpation of the offender by a self-appointed authority is not a desirable mode of counteracting injustice.

Either the nation whose tyrant you would destroy is ripe for the assertion and maintenance of its liberty, or it is not. If it be, the tyrant ought to be deposed with every appearance of publicity. Nothing can be more improper, than for an affair, interesting to the general weal, to be conducted as if it were an act of darkness and of shame. It is an ill lesson we

read to mankind, when a proceeding, built upon the broad basis of general justice, is permitted to shrink from public scrutiny. To proscribe all violence, and neglect no means of information and partiality, is the most effectual security we can have for an issue conformable to the voice of reason and truth.

If, on the other hand, the nation be not ripe for a state of freedom the man who assumes to himself the right of interposing violence, may indeed show the fervor of his conception, and gain a certain degree of notoriety; but he will not fail to be the author of new calamities to his country. The consequences of tyrannicide are well known. If the attempt prove abortive, it renders the tyrant ten times more bloody, ferocious, and cruel than before. If it succeed, and the tyranny be restored, it produces the same effect upon his successors. In the climate of despotism some solitary virtues may spring up. But in the midst of plots and conspiracies there is neither truth, nor confidence, nor love, nor humanity.

The true merits of the question will be still farther understood, if we reflect on the nature of assassination. The mistake, which has been incurred upon this subject, is to be imputed principally to the superficial view that has been taken of it. If its advocates had followed the conspirator through all his windings, and observed his perpetual alarm lest truth should become known, they would probably have been less indiscriminate in their applause. No action can be imagined, more directly at war with a principle of ingenuousness and candor. Like all that is most odious in the catalogue of vices, it delights in obscurity. It shrinks from the piercing light of day. It avoids all question, and hesitates and trembles before the questioner. It struggles for a tranquil gaiety, and is only complete where there is the most perfect hypocrisy. It changes the use of speech, and composes every feature the better to deceive.

"Between the acting of a dreadful thing  
And the first motion, all the interim"

is mystery and reserve. Is it possible to believe that the person who has upon him all the indications of guilt, is engaged in an action which virtue enjoins? The same duplicity follows him to the last. Imagine to yourself the conspirators kneeling at the feet of Cæsar, as they did the moment they destroyed him! Not all the virtue of Brutus can save them from indignation.



Where there is assassination, there is an end to all confidence among men. Protests and assertions go for nothing. No man presumes to know his neighbor's intention. The boundaries, that have hitherto served to divide virtue and vice, are gone. The true interests of mankind require, not the removal, but the confirmation of these boundaries. All morality proceeds upon mutual confidence and esteem, will grow and expand as the grounds of that confidence shall be more evident, and must inevitably decay in proportion as they are undermined.

Brutus, in a speech to the people, explained the motives of his conduct, and, in a pathetic manner, exhorted them to exert themselves in defence of their country, and maintain the liberty now offered to them, against all the abettors of the late tyranny. The speech, which Shakspeare attributes to him is, perhaps, as good an apology as can be made, and, doubtless, represents his sentiments as correctly, as the speeches, which the ancient historians have composed for the celebrated characters of their works, exhibits their opinions.

“Romans, countrymen, and lovers! hear me for my cause, and be silent, that you may hear. Believe me for mine honor, and have respect to mine honor, that you may believe. Censure me in your wisdom, and awake your senses, that you may the better judge. If there be any in this assembly, any dear friend of Cæsar's, to him I say, that Brutus' love to Cæsar was no less than his. If, then, that friend demand, why Brutus rose against Cæsar, this is my answer: Not that I loved Cæsar less, but that I loved Rome more. Had you rather Cæsar were living, and die all slaves: than that Cæsar were dead, to live all freemen? As Cæsar loved me, I weep for him; as he was fortunate I rejoice at it; as he was valiant I honor him; but as he was ambitious I slew him. There are tears for his love, joy for his fortune, honor for his valor, and death for his ambition. Who's here so base, that would be a bondman? If any, speak; for him have I offended. Who's here so rude, that would not be a Roman? If any, speak; for him have I offended. Who's here so vile, that will not love his country? If any, speak; for him have I offended—I pause for a reply.

“None?—then none have I offended. I have done no more to Cæsar, than you should do to Brutus. The question of his death is enrolled in the Capitol: his glory not extenuated, wherein he was worthy; nor his offences enforced, for which he suffered death.

"Here comes his body, mourned by Mark Antony; who, though he had no hand in his death, shall receive the benefit of his dying, a place in the Commonwealth; as which of you shall not? With this I depart, that as I slew my best lover for the good of Rome, I have the same dagger for myself, when it shall please my country to need my death."

Shakspeare has fallen into the common error of supposing that Marcus Brutus was the intimate friend of Cæsar.

Antony, on this occasion, acted with great dissimulation, and supped with Cassius; and Lepidus, who had the command of a legion in the suburbs, whilst meditating vengeance against the conspirators, spent an evening with Brutus. The calm was but of short duration, for Antony, who had awakened the passions of the people by reading Cæsar's will, in which he had made liberal bequests to them, and who had laid out the body of Cæsar in state, (it was placed in a little temple, all glittering with gold, on an ivory bed, covered with gold and purple cloth,) made an oration calculated and intended to inflame their passions against the conspirators. We shall again have recourse to the poet of nature, whose persons, as one of his editors says, act and speak by the influence of those general passions and principles by which all minds are agitated, and the whole system of life is continued in motion, and who excels by accommodating his sentiments to real life.

"Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears:  
I come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him.  
The evil that men do lives after them;  
The good is oft interred with their bones;  
So let it be with Cæsar! The noble Brutus  
Hath told you Cæsar was ambitious:  
If it were so, it was a grievous fault;  
And grievously hath Cæsar answered it.  
Here, under leave of Brutus, and the rest,  
(For Brutus is an honorable man,  
So are they all, all honorable men.)  
Come I to speak in Cæsar's funeral.  
He was my friend, faithful and just to me;  
But Brutus says, he was ambitious;  
And Brutus is an honorable man.  
He hath brought many captives home to Rome,  
Whose ransoms did the gen'ral coffers fill;  
Did this in Cæsar seem ambitious?  
When that the poor have cried, Cæsar hath wept;

Ambition should be made of sterner stuff.  
 Yet Brutus says he was ambitious;  
 And Brutus is an honorable man.  
 You all did see that on the Lupercal,  
 I thrice presented him a kingly crown,  
 Which he did thrice refuse. Was this ambition?  
 Yet Brutus says he was ambitious;  
 And sure he is an honorable man.  
 I speak not to disprove what Brutus spoke,  
 But here I am to speak what I do know.  
 You all did love him once, not without cause;  
 What cause withholds you then to mourn for him?  
 O, judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts,  
 And men have lost their reason;—bear with me;—  
 My heart is in the coffin there with Cæsar,  
 And I must pause till it come back to me.

1 PLEB. Methinks there is much reason in his sayings.

2 PLEB. If thou consider rightly of the matter,  
 Cæsar has had great wrong.

3 PLEB. Has he masters?

I fear there will a worse-come in his place.

4 PLEB. Mark'd ye his words? He would not take the crown  
 Therefore 'tis certain he was not ambitious.

1 PLEB. If it be found so, some will dear abide it.

2 PLEB. Poor soul! his eyes are red as fire with weeping.

3 PLEB. There's not a nobler man in Rome, than Antony.

4 PLEB. Now mark him; he begins again to speak.

ANT. But yesterday the word of Cæsar might

Have stood against the world: now lies he there,  
 And none so poor to do him reverence.

O masters! if I were disposed to stir  
 Your hearts and minds to mutiny and rage,  
 I should do Brutus wrong, and Cassius wrong,  
 Who, you all know, are honorable men.

I will not do them wrong; I rather choose  
 To wrong the dead, to wrong myself, and you,  
 Than I will wrong such honorable men.

But here's a parchment with the seal of Cæsar;  
 I found it in his closet; 'tis his will.

Let but the commons hear the testament,

(Which, pardon me, I do not mean to read,)

And they would go and kiss dead Cæsar's wounds,  
 And dip their napkins in his sacred blood;

Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,  
And, dying, mention it within their wills,  
Bequeathing it, as a rich legacy,  
Unto their issue.

4 PLEB. We'll hear the will: read it, Mark Antony.

ALL. The will, the will; we will hear Cæsar's will.

ANT. Have patience, gentle friends, I must not read it;

It is not meet you know how Cæsar lov'd you.

You are not wood, you are not stones, but men;

And, being men, hearing the will of Cæsar,

It will inflame you; it will make you mad.

'Tis good you know not that you are his heirs;

For if you should, O, what would come of it!

4 PLEB. Read the will; we will hear it, Antony;

You shall read us the will; Cæsar's will.

ANT. Will you be patient? Will you stay a while?

I have o'er-shot myself, to tell you of it.

I fear I wrong the honorable men,

Whose daggers have stabb'd Cæsar: I do fear it.

4 PLEB. They were traitors: Honorable men!

ALL. The will! the testament!

2 PLEB. They were villains, murderers: the will! read the will!

ANT. You will compel me, then, to read the will?—

Then make a ring about the corpse of Cæsar,

And let me show you him that made the will.

Shall I descend? And will you give me leave?

ALL. Come down.

ALL. Stand back! room! bear back.

ANT. If you have tears, prepare to shed them now.

You all do know this mantle: I remember

The first time ever Cæsar put it on;

'Twas on a summer evening in his tent;

That day he overcame the Nervii:—

Look! in this place, ran Cassius' dagger through:

See what a rent the envious Casca made;

Through this, the well-beloved Brutus stabb'd:

And as he pluck'd his cursed steel away,

Mark how the blood of Cæsar follow'd it;

As rushing out of doors to be resolv'd

If Brutus so unkindly knock'd or no;

For Brutus, as you know, was Cæsar's angel:

Judge, O, ye gods, how dearly Cæsar lov'd him!

This, this was the unkindest cut of all;

For when the noble Cæsar saw him stab,  
 Ingratitude, more strong than traitor's arms,  
 Quite vanquish'd him. Then burst his mighty heart;  
 And in his mantle muffling up his face,  
 Even at the base of Pompey's statue,  
 Which all the while ran blood, great Cæsar fell.  
 O, what a fall was there, my countrymen!  
 Then I, and you, and all of us fell down,  
 Whilst bloody treason flourished over us.  
 O, now you weep; and I perceive you feel  
 The dint of pity: these are gracious drops.  
 Kind souls, what, weep you, when you but behold  
 Our Cæsar's vesture wounded? Look you here!  
 Here is himself, marr'd, as you see, by traitors.

1 PLEB. O piteous spectacle.

2 PLEB. O noble Cæsar.

3 PLEB. O traitors, villains.

2 PLEB. We will be reveng'd: Revenge: About—  
 Seek—burn—fire—kill—slay;—let not a traitor live.

ANT. Good friends, sweet friends, let me not stir you up

To such a sudden flood of mutiny.

They that have done this deed are honorable;

What private griefs they have, alas! I know not,

That made them do it; they are wise, and honorable,

And will, no doubt, with reasons answer you.

I come not, friends, to steal away your hearts;

I am no orator as Brutus is:

But as you know me all, a plain, blunt man,

That love my friend: and that they know full well

That gave me public leave to speak of him.

For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,

Action, nor utterance, nor the power of speech,

To stir men's blood: I only speak right on:

I tell you that which you yourselves do know:

Show you sweet Cæsar's wounds, poor, poor dumb mouths!

And bid them speak for me: But were I Brutus,

And Brutus Antony, there were an Antony

Would ruffle up your spirits, and put a tongue

In every wound of Cæsar, that should move

The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny."

## CHAPTER XXVII.

CIVIL WAR FROM THE DEATH OF CÆSAR TO THE BATTLE OF  
ACTIUM—BRUTUS, CASSIUS, ANTONY, LEPIDUS, OCTAVIUS.

Brutus was by birth, his alliances, his connexions, and his riches, at the head of the nobility; and he was revered during his life and after his death, for the gravity of his manners, his extensive learning, his eloquence, and capacity. "His mind," says Plutarch, "was steady, and not easily moved by entreaties. His principles were reason, and honor, and virtue; and the ends to which these directed him, he prosecuted with so much vigor, that he seldom failed of success. No flattery could induce him to attend to unjust petitions; and though that ductility of mind, which may be wrought upon by the impudence of importunity, is by some called good nature, he considered it as the greatest disgrace. He used to say, that he suspected those who could refuse no favors had not very honestly employed the season of their youth. It was universally said, that Brutus hated the imperial power, and that Cassius hated the emperor.

"Brutus, on account of his virtue, was respected by the people, beloved by his friends, admired by men of principle, and not hated even by enemies. He was mild in his temper, and had a greatness of mind that was superior to anger, avarice, and the love of pleasure. He was firm and inflexible in his opinions, and zealous in every pursuit where justice or honor was concerned. The people had the highest opinion of his integrity and sincerity in every undertaking, and this naturally inspired them with confidence and affection. Even Pompey, the Great, had scarcely ever so much credit with them; for who ever imagined that if he had conquered Cæsar, he would have submitted to the laws, and would not have retained his power under the title of consul or dictator, or some more specious and popular name? Cassius, a man of violent passions, and rapacious avarice, was suspected of exposing himself to toil and danger, rather from a thirst of

power, than an attachment to the liberties of his country. The former disturbers of the Commonwealth, Cinna, and Marius, and Carbo, evidently set their country as a stake for the winner, and hardly scrupled to own that they fought for empire : but the very enemies of Brutus never charge him with this. Even Antony has been heard to say, that Brutus was the only conspirator, who had the sense of honor and justice for his motive, and that the rest were wholly actuated by malice and envy."

When charged by Cassius with too rigid an execution of the laws, when lenity was much more politic, he reminded him of the ides of March, the time when they had killed Cæsar, who was not personally the scourge of mankind, but only abetted and supported those that favored his authority. He bade him consider that if the neglect of justice were in any case to be connived at, it should have been done before ; and that they had better have borne with the oppression of Cæsar's friends, than suffered the malpractices of their own to pass with impunity: for then, we could have been blamed only for cowardice; but now, after all we have undergone, we shall lie under the imputation of injustice.

In reply to Cassius, Brutus says, in the younger and less experienced part of my life, I was led, upon philosophical principles, to condemn the conduct of Cato in killing himself. I thought it at once impious and unmanly to sink beneath the stroke of fortune, and to refuse the lot that had befallen us. In my present situation, however, I am of a different opinion : so that if heaven should now be unfavorable to our wishes, I will no longer solicit my hopes or my fortune, but die contented with it, such as it is. On the ides of March I devoted my life to my country; and since that time I have lived in liberty and glory.

Cicero says of Brutus, "I need not tell you how greatly the exalted talents and polite manners, together with the singular spirit and probity of Marcus Brutus, have ever endeared him to my heart."

His ardent love of liberty, and detestation of tyranny, are exhibited in some of his letters after the death of Cæsar ; yet, it manifestly appears, that, after the destruction of the tyrant, he was strongly averse to the shedding of blood, and was entirely bent on pacific councils, persuaded that the integrity of their cause would unite all people in defence of that liberty which was offered them ; and, having conceived some hopes, also, of Antony, against whom Cicero entertained implacable

resentment, he was willing to pay all due respect to his consular authority, and was particularly averse to any measures that were not sanctioned by the ordinary forms of the constitution. Even after he was driven out of the city by Antony's intrigues, he adhered to the same maxims, and dismissed the concourse of his friends, who resorted to him from all parts of Italy, and were eager to take arms in his cause. Cicero, on the contrary, was constantly urging Brutus and his accomplices to take arms against the dissimulation and ambitious views of Antony, whom he greatly regrets they had not assassinated together with Cæsar.

Anxious to restore the constitution, and the authority of the laws, he would not set the example of violating them. A few extracts from his letters afford the best illustration of the character of this great man, who may be called the last of the Romans. In reply to Cicero's statement, "That the case of the three Antonies is one and the same, and that it was his part to determine what he ought to judge of it," (this letter was written after Antony's defeat, before the second triumvirate,) he says, "I lay down no other rule to myself, but this: that it is the right of the Senate and the people of Rome, to pass judgment on those citizens who have been taken fighting against us. But I am to blame, you will say, for giving the title of citizens to those who bear a hostile disposition to the Republic. Yet, I do it with the greatest justice. For where the Senate has not yet decreed, nor the Roman people commanded any thing, there I neither arrogantly take it upon myself to prejudge, nor to impose my will as law. I take it to be much more the becoming part, and what the republic would more easily allow to us, not to persecute the fortunes of the miserable, than to heap infinite honors on the powerful, which tend to inflame their ambition and arrogance. I am in pain, therefore, about the consulship, lest this Cæsar of yours should think himself raised already higher by your decrees, than he would ascend, if made consul. I wish that you could look into the fears, which I entertain about him. (It appears that Octavius, now opposed to Antony, had artfully ensnared Cicero to enter into his views, by persuading him that he was desirous of having him for his colleague in the consular office, and promising to leave the sole administration of it to Cicero's superior wisdom and experience. The bait was too well adapted to his vanity and ambition, to be thrown out in vain, and Cicero undertook the management of this affair upon the terms proposed. And by obtaining various decrees of honors for Octavius, who was



now only in his twentieth year, he contributed to establish his sovereign authority, and he fell a victim to the ingratitude and snares of the artful nephew of the late dictator.)

“You (Atticus) write me word that Cicero wonders, that I never take any notice of his acts. I am at a loss what to write, except this one thing, that the ambition and licentiousness of the boy (Octavius) have been encouraged rather than repressed by Cicero; and that he carries his indulgence so far, as not to abstain even from opprobrious language, (towards the conspirators.) For my part, I cannot think myself obliged to a man, who, as long as he does not serve any angry lord, has no quarrel with servitude itself; nay, decrees triumphs, and pay, and every kind of honor to him. It is a shame for any one, to desire such a condition of life, as he has now taken upon himself. Is this the part of a consular? this, of Cicero? Does he do all this, because he thinks that every thing ought freely to be given up to him, on account of his great power? Oh, the strange folly of fear! to be so cautious of shunning what we are afraid of, that, instead of avoiding it, as we might perhaps have done, we forwardly invite and draw it upon ourselves. We have too great a dread of death, and of exile, and poverty. These Cicero looks upon as the chief ills of life; and as long as he can find persons who will grant him what he desires; who will respect and applaud him; he has no objection to slavery, provided it be an honorable one: if any thing can be honorable, in a state of the most wretched and abject contumely. Let Octavius then call him father, refer all things to him, praise him: yet it will be seen at last, that his words are contrary to his acts. For what is so opposite to the common sense of mankind, as to hold any one in the place of a father, who cannot be ranked in the number of freemen.

“I can no longer set any value on those arts, of which I know Cicero to be so great a master: for of what use to him are all the fine things, that he has written with such eloquence, for the liberty of his country, or on dignity, death, exile, and poverty? Let Cicero then live on, since he can submit to it, suppliant and obnoxious; if he has no regard, either to his years, or his honors, or the acts of his past life. As for me, I will wage war with the thing itself: that is, with tyranny, with extraordinary commands, with dominion, and with every power, that seeks to advance itself above the laws: nor shall any condition of servitude, how advantageous soever, divert

me from it; though Antony, as you write, be an honest man, which was never my opinion of him."

"Some part of your letter (Cicero's) written to Octavius concerning me, affected me with the most sensible grief, that my mind is capable of receiving. For you compliment him so highly for his services to the Republic; in a strain so suppliant and abject; that—what shall I say? I am ashamed of the condition and fortune, to which we are reduced—yet it must be said—you recommend my safety to him; (to which what death is not preferable?) and plainly shew, that our servitude is not yet abolished, but our master only changed. Recollect your words, and deny them, if you dare, to be the prayers of a slave to his king. 'There is one thing,' you say, 'which is required and expected from him, that he will allow those citizens to live in safety, of whom all honest men, and the people of Rome think well.' But what, if he will not allow it? Shall we be the less safe for that? It is better not to be safe, than to be made safe by him. Can you, Cicero, allow Octavius to have this power, and be still a friend to him? Or, if you have any value for me, would you wish to see me at Rome, when I must first be recommended to the boy, that he would permit me to be there? What reason have you to thank him, if you think it necessary to beg of him, that he would grant and suffer us to live in safety? Or is it to be reckoned a kindness, that he chooses to see himself, rather than Antony, in the condition, to have such petitions addressed to him. If we remembered ourselves to be Romans, these most infamous men would not be more daring, to grasp at dominion than we to repel it: nor would Antony be more encouraged by Cæsar's reign, than deterred by his fate. What reason had we to rejoice at Cæsar's death; if after it, we were still to continue slaves. Let other people be as indolent as they please; but as for me, may the gods and goddesses deprive me sooner of every thing, than the resolution, of not allowing to the heir of him, whom I killed, what I did not allow to the man himself; nor would suffer even in my father, were he living, to have more power, than the laws and the Senate.

"You beg that he would allow us to be safe. Shall we then receive safety, think you, when we have received life from him? But how can we receive it, if we first part with our honor and our liberty? Do you fancy that to live at Rome is to be safe? It is the thing, and not the place which must secure that to me; for I was never safe while Cæsar lived; till I had resolved with myself upon that attempt: nor

can I in any place live in exile, as long as I hate slavery and insults above all other evils. Do not recommend me, therefore, any more to your Cæsar; nor yourself, indeed, if you will hearken to me. You set a high value on the few years, which remain to you at your age, if for the sake of them, you can supplicate that boy. As for me, may I never return to you, if ever I either supplicate any man, or do not chastise those, who require such supplications to be made to them: or, I will remove to a distance from all such as can be slaves; and fancy every place to be Rome, wherever I find it in my power to live free; and shall pity you whose fond desire of life, neither age, nor honors, nor the example of other men's virtue has been able to moderate. I will never yield to those who are fond of yielding, or be conquered by those, who are willing to be conquered themselves, but will first try and attempt every thing; nor ever desist from dragging our city out of slavery. If such fortune attend me, as I ought to have; we shall all rejoice: if not, I shall rejoice still myself. For how can this life be better spent, than in acts and thoughts, which tend to make my fellow citizens free? I beg and beseech you, Cicero, not to desert the cause through wariness or diffidence. In repelling present evils have your eye always on the future; lest they insinuate themselves, before you are aware. Consider, that the fortitude and bravery with which you saved the Republic when consul, and now again when a consular, are nothing, without constancy and consistency. The case of tried virtue, I confess, is harder than of untried. *We require services from it as debts.* If in any instance it happens to disappoint us, we blame with resentment, as if we had been deceived by it."

ANTONY.—The disposition and conduct of Antony were, in almost every respect, the reverse of those of Brutus. Ambitious, tyrannical, cruel, artful, treacherous, abandoned to the grossest sensuality, his character was a complication of vices. When he entered Ephesus, the women in the dress of Bacchantals, and men and boys habited like Pan and the Satyrs, marched before him. "Nothing was to be seen," says Plutarch, "through the whole city, but ivy crowns, and spears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes, and pipes, while Antony was hailed by the name of Bacchus. To the ministers of his brutal pleasures, he was liberal, but to others, he was savage and fierce. He deprived many noble families of their fortunes, and bestowed them on sycophants and parasites. Many were represented to be dead who were still living, and commissions

were given to his infamous associates for seizing their estates. He gave his cook the estate of a Magnesian citizen for dressing one supper to his taste. When he was at Alexandria, a person invited to see the preparations for Antony's supper, observed eight wild boars roasting whole, and expressing his surprise, the cook said that the company did not exceed twelve, but as every dish was to be roasted to a single turn, and as Antony was uncertain as the time he would sup, it was necessary to have a succession of dishes." Cicero, in his second Philippic against Antony, says, "It is incredible what wealth he squandered in a few days. The quantity of wine was immense; large services of massy plate, costly apparel, and rich furniture superbly fitted up for various places, in a few days were all dissipated. Whole cellars of wine were lavished upon the meanest miscreants. Many things became the plunder of actors and actresses; his house was crowded with gamesters and drunkards." And he says in one of his letters, "The conduct of Mark Antony, ever since my return, has not allowed me to enjoy a moment of repose. The ferocity of his temper is so excessive, that he cannot bear a word, or even a look, which is animated with the least spirit of liberty."

Yet, this man had qualities which recommended him to the army, and made him popular with all his fellow soldiers. He had a remarkably fine person, a noble dignity of countenance, a capacious forehead, an aquiline nose, and the same manly aspect which is represented in the pictures and statues of Hercules; and he affected to resemble him in his air and dress. That kind of conduct, which was disagreeable to others, rendered him beloved by the legions. He talked with the soldiers in their own boasting and ribald strain, eat and drank with them in public, and would stand to take his victuals at their common table. His liberality to his soldiers, and to his friends, was the first foundation of his advancement, and continued to support him in that power, which he had weakened by a thousand irregularities. And above all, his recommendations to the army were his military science and undaunted bravery.—He was at all times a turbulent and dangerous citizen; he was headlong, furious, and oppressive.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS was a weak, vain, and inconstant man; void of all good intentions to the Republic, and governed wholly by such motives as flattered his vanity, or served his ambition. He is described by D. Brutus in a

letter to Cicero, "as light and changeable as the wind; and never disposed to do any thing that was right."

**OCTAVIUS.**—A cool head, an unfeeling heart, and a cowardly disposition, prompted him, at the age of nineteen, to assume the mask of hypocrisy, which he never afterwards laid aside. With the same hand, and probably with the same temper, he signed the proscription of Cicero, and the pardon of Cinna. His virtues and even his vices were artificial; and, according to the various dictates of his interest, he was at first the enemy, and at last the protector of the Roman world. When he framed the artful system of the imperial authority, his moderation was inspired by his fears. He wished to deceive the people by an image of liberty, and the armies by an image of civil government. Such was the cruelty of his character, that in his proscriptions he shed the blood of 300 Senators and 200 knights.—Not one of the conspirators against Julius Cæsar survived the fury of the destructive sword.

The inscriptions on ancient medals are, (before his elevation to the supreme power) Octavius Cæsar, son of the deified Julius, imperator, triumvir for the purpose of restoring the Commonwealth, consul, the assertor of public liberty;—(after his accession to the empire) Cæsar, Augustus, son of the deified Julius Cæsar, imperator, consul, chief pontiff, and, with the tribunitial power, father of his country;—(after his death) Divus Augustus, (the deified Augustus.)

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The conspirators, perceiving the rage of the people, which had been excited by Antony, retired from the city. Antony acted with the greatest duplicity. Though he had used every artifice to rouse the people to revenge the death of Cæsar, he affected great concern at their riotous proceedings, paid court to the Senate, and quelled a sedition which he himself had raised. Pretending to dread the resentment of the populace, he obtained from the deluded Senate a guard for the security of his person. Among other popular measures, he proposed the abolition of the name and office of dictator, which gave great satisfaction, and seemed a pledge of his good intentions. But having in his progress through Italy, drawn great numbers of veterans, who were in his interest towards Rome, to be ready for any purpose he should require, he began to act with less reserve.

Brutus and Cassius now were convinced of their great mistake in dispersing their supporters, and were persuaded that

Antony was aiming at supreme power. Rome was now in the power of Antony, who surrounded himself with a guard of 6,000 veteran soldiers; and the Senate, (many of the members of which, apprehending violence, had left the city,) gave the cognizance and execution of the acts of Cæsar to the consuls. This decree gave him great power, for, being consul, and having Cæsars' papers in his custody, and having in his interest the secretary by whom the will was made, he forged and inserted at pleasure, whatever could advance his ambitious projects. He also got possession of the money which Cæsar had left, and seized the public treasures. But an obstacle to his ambition now presented itself. The young Octavius, left by his uncle Cæsar the heir of his name and estate, appeared in Rome to assert his right to the succession of his uncle's estate, and to claim the possession of it. On his approach to the city, he was met by crowds, who hailed his return from Greece, where he had been sent to prosecute his studies, with acclamations of joy. Having demanded of the consul to be put in possession of the bequests of his uncle, Antony replied, "that he was young, and did not know what he was about; that the title he assumed of heir and executor of Cæsars' will, was a burden too great for his shoulders." Octavius, not discouraged by this reception, paid assiduous court to the people and to the Senate, and was favorably regarded by Cicero, who was above all things anxious to diminish the power of Antony. Encouraged by the popularity of Cæsar's nephew, Cicero ventured to deliver against the consul the first of those speeches, which are called his Philippics. Brutus soon after went to Macedonia, and Cassius to Syria, to prepare for the war, which they now perceived was inevitable. The hopes of the republican party were raised on the quarrel which now existed between Antony and Octavius, both of whom were actively employed in raising troops. After Antony had left Rome, Cicero entered, and denounced him in the most vehement terms as the enemy of his country, and his Philippics were well received by the Senate and the people. All the eloquence of Cicero was exerted in behalf of Octavius, and a decree was passed by the Senate, ordering Antony to raise the siege of Mutina, to evacuate Cisalpine Gaul, and to wait their further orders on the banks of the Rubicon. Antony treated the decree with contempt, and the Senate declared him an enemy to the State, and sent Octavius, and the two consuls, to punish his rebellion. Antony was defeated, and compelled to fly to Lepidus, who commanded a body of forces in Farther Gaul. The two

consuls were mortally wounded, and one of them, Pansa, before his death, is said to have advised Octavius to join Antony, "assuring him, that the Senate desired to oppress both by opposing them to each other." Antony had previously written to Octavius to propose a reconciliation. "Cicero," he says, "like a master of gladiators, is matching us, and ordering the combat; who is so far happy as to have caught you with the same bait with which he boasts that he caught Cæsar. I can forgive the injuries of my friends, if they themselves are disposed to forget them, or prepared in conjunction with me, to revenge the death of Cæsar."

Lepidus at this time was, by the advice of Cicero, voted an enemy of the Republic, and the gilt statue, which they had lately erected to him, was demolished. "The Senate acts," Cicero writes to Brutus, "with great spirit; but it is the expectation of being supported by your army, that chiefly animates them in their vigorous measures. I fear, indeed, we shall have occasion for all your assistance, as the war is now become extremely formidable by the villainy of Lepidus. No man possesses more patriotic and heroic spirit than yourself; and it is for this reason we wish to see you in Italy, as soon as possible."

The artful policy of Octavius was soon exhibited, and he determined no longer to act in subservience to the wishes of the Senate. Instead of prosecuting the war, he, though only twenty years old, presumptuously made a demand of the consulship; and Cicero favored his pretensions, being flattered with the promise of being his colleague and adviser. The demand was made by a deputation of his officers; and when the Senate received the proposition more coldly than they expected, Cornelius, a centurion, throwing back his robe, and showing them his sword, boldly declared, that, "if they would not make Octavius consul, the sword should." And the young general soon put an end to their scruples, by marching with his legions in a hostile manner to the city. The prætors placed a guard in different parts of it, and seized upon the Janiculum, supported by the troops and two legions. But Octavius met with no opposition, and the legions went over to him.

Cicero, disappointed, deceived, and mortified beyond expression, now retired from public life, to one of his country houses, where neither his books, nor his philosophy could possibly afford him any real satisfaction, or save him from the constant intrusion of the reproaches of his conscience, stinging

him with the miserable reflection, that he had sacrificed his country for his own particular advancement, that he had referred all things to himself—which was the true and perfect centre of all his actions.

“Farewell, a long farewell to all my greatness :  
This is the state of man ; to-day he puts forth  
The tender leaves of hope ; to-morrow blossoms,  
And bears his blushing honors thick upon him :  
The third day, comes a frost, a killing frost ;  
And—when he thinks, good easy man, full surely  
His greatness is a ripening—nips his root,  
And then he falls as I do. I have ventur’d,  
Like little wanton boys, that swim on bladders,  
These many summers in a sea of glory,  
But far beyond my depth : my high blown pride  
At length broke under me : and now has left me,  
Weary and old with service, to the mercy  
Of a rude stream, that must forever hide me.  
Vain pomp, and glory of this world, I hate ye !”

Octavius was chosen consul, and immediately manifested his deeply concealed animosity to the conspirators, by obtaining a law for bringing to trial and justice all who had been concerned in advising or effecting Cæsar’s death. Having established his power in the city, he marched towards Gaul to meet Antony and Lepidus ; and in a small island, near Bononia, the three traitors met, and formed the second triumvirate. It was settled, “that they three should be invested jointly with the supreme power, for the term of five years, with the title of triumviri, for settling the state of the Republic; that they should act in all cases by common consent, nominate the magistrates both at home and abroad, and determine all affairs relating to the Republic by their sole will and pleasure, &c.” These conditions were received by their respective armies with acclamations of joy, and mutual congratulations.

The last measure adjusted was the proscription list. This occasioned much difficulty and warm disputes, till each of them, at last, consented to sacrifice some of his best friends to the revenge and resentment of his colleagues. The whole list is said to have consisted of 300 Senators and 200 Knights. They reserved the publication of it till their arrival at Rome, excepting only a few of the most obnoxious, the heads of the republican party, the chief of whom was Cicero. These,



they marked out for immediate destruction; and sent their emissaries directly to surprise and murder them.

That Antony should put down Cicero's name is what might be expected from his character, and the bitter enmity which had long existed between him and the great orator; and Cicero certainly would not have spared Antony's life, had circumstances put it in his power; but that Octavius should have been a party to the murder of him, to whom he professed a strong attachment, and to whose influence he was indebted, in a great measure, for his power, excites feelings of indignation and astonishment. It was an act of perfidy and ingratitude scarcely equalled in the annals of human depravity.

Some of Cicero's friends found means to give him early notice that his name was in the proscription list. In company with his brother and nephew, he hastened to the sea shore, with the intention of embarking for Greece. But Quintus, being unprepared for so sudden a voyage, resolved to return to Rome with his son, to procure money for their support abroad. The diligence of Antony's emissaries eluded all their caution. The son was found out first; and refusing to make known the place of his father's concealment, he was put to the rack. The father, hearing his irrepressible groans, burst from his hiding place, and begged the assassins to spare his innocent son, and take his own life. The son as urgently prayed that they would dispatch him, and save his father. But their petitions were offered to those who were strangers to the soft emotions of pity and humanity. The murderers destroyed them both at the same time. Cicero, finding a vessel ready for him, embarked, but the sea being rough, and the winds contrary, he landed, and spent the night in great irresolution and uncertainty. His slaves forced him into a litter, and carried him off towards the sea shore; but, as they were proceeding through the woods, they were overtaken by the ruffians of Antony. The servants were preparing to make a resistance, but Cicero, aware of the hopelessness of the attempt, commanded them to set him down; and stretching out his neck as far as he could, he told the executioners to take what they wanted. They cut off his head, and both his hands, and carried them to the cruel Antony. The principal actor of this bloody tragedy was Popilius, a tribune of the army, whom Cicero had formerly defended and preserved in a capital cause. Fulvia, the wife of Antony, gratified her revenge, by thrusting her bodkin through that tongue, which had so often astonished the world by its eloquence, and by effusions which will instruct the latest

posterity. Antony ordered the head to be fixed on the rostra between the two hands, and rewarded the chief assassin with a civic crown.

The intellectual qualities of Cicero were of the highest order. Fertility of imagination, and quickness of invention, were joined in an uncommon degree with acuteness of judgment, and a perpetual fund of good sense. As an orator, he has perhaps never been equalled. His genius and powers of speaking shone with unrivalled lustre, and his name soon became synonymous with that of eloquence.

As a philosopher, the mind of Cicero appears to have been clear, capacious, penetrating, and insatiable of knowledge. As a critic, he was endowed with every talent that could captivate either the judgment or the taste. His researches were continually employed on subjects of the greatest utility to mankind, and those often such as extended beyond the narrow bounds of temporal existence. The being of a God, the immortality of the soul, a future state of rewards and punishments, and the eternal distinction of good and ill; these were in general the great objects of his philosophical inquiries, and he has placed them in a more convincing point of view than they were ever before exhibited to the pagan world. The variety and force of the arguments which he advances, the splendor of his diction, and the zeal with which he endeavors to excite the love and admiration of virtue, all conspire to place his character, as a philosophical writer, including likewise his incomparable eloquence, on the summit of human celebrity.

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The triumviri having shed the best blood of Rome, and Octavius and Antony, having left Lepidus to defend the city, proceeded to Greece to attack the republican army under Brutus and Cassius. The armies encountered near Philippi. The troops of Cassius were routed; and he retired to a hill not far off to await the event of the battle on his colleague's side. Describing a body of cavalry approaching, he sent Titinius to discover whether they were friends or enemies. The messenger was received with joy, but not returning immediately, Cassius cried out, "Alas! to preserve the remainder of a miserable life, I have ruined my best friend!" and instantly retiring into his tent, killed himself. Brutus, after this, kept twenty days within his intrenchments, but, as many of his officers had deserted, he determined to risk a second battle. His army was entirely defeated. Brutus

retired, and threw himself upon a sword, held by a friend at his request, and immediately expired.

B. C. 41. Thus perished the last expectations of the Republican party.

“Hope, for a season, bade the world farewell,  
And Freedom shriek’d—as Marcus Brutus fell.  
But in that generous cause, forever strong,  
The patriot’s virtue and the poet’s song,  
Still, as the tide of ages rolls away,  
Shall charm the world, unconscious of decay.”

The triumviri acted as sovereigns, and divided the Roman world between them, as theirs by right of conquest. The quarrels of the tyrants make no proper part of the history of the Roman Republic. Lepidus was deprived of his power six years after the battle of Philippi. Mark Antony, seduced by the charms of Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, forgot the cares of empire. Octavius improved the opportunity of establishing his own power, and resolved to rule alone. He was victorious over his remaining competitor, in a great naval engagement off Actium, in Greece, five years after the deposition of Lepidus; and from the battle of Actium takes its commencement the series of emperors, under whom Rome scarcely retained any feature of that illustrious, and high minded, and independent nation it had been before the destruction of Carthage.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### PALESTINE.

This once fertile region, which was made tributary to the Romans by Pompey, was first called the land of Canaan from Noah's grandson. It received the name of Palestine from the Palestines or Philistines, who possessed a great part of it; and it had the name of Judæa from Judah, one of the twelve sons of Jacob. It is bounded by Mount Libanus, which divides it from Syria, on the north; by Mount Hermon, which separates it from Arabia Deserta, on the east; by the mountains of Seir and the deserts of Arabia Petræa, on the south; and by the Mediterranean sea on the west.

This country did not receive the name of Judæa till after the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity. By the heathen writers, it is called by many different names, as Palestina Syria, Cæle Syria, Idumæa, and Phœnicia. That part of the country which was properly called the Land of Promise, was inclosed on the west by the Mediterranean; on the east by the lake Asphaltites, the Jordan, and the sea of Tiberias or of Galilee, and the Sammachonite lake; to the north it had the mountains of Libanus, or rather of Antilibanus, or the province of Phœnicia; and to the south that of Edom or Idumæa, from which it was likewise parted by another ridge of high mountains. The boundaries of the other part, which belonged to the two tribes and a half beyond the river Jordan, are not so easily defined.

PALESTINE contained Galilee in the north; Samaria in the middle, and Judæa in the south. These lay west of Jordan. On the east of it was Peræa. The sea coast of Judæa was the country of the Philistines, and in the south east, extending into Arabia Petræa, was Idumæa, or Edom. The chief places in Galilee were Itopata, Cana, Gischala, Sephoris, Capernaum, Bethsaida, Nazareth, Nain, Tiberias, and Scythopolis.—In Samaria were Cæsaræa, Samaria, and Antipatris.

In Judea were Joppa, Azotus, Gaza, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Emmaus, Jericho, and Massada.—In the Peræa were Machærus, Bethabara, Pella, Magdala, Gadara, Julias, and Cæsarea Philippi.—The Jordan rises in the mountains of Antilibanus, passes through the lake of Tiberias, and after a course of one hundred and fifty miles, falls into the Lacus Asphaltites, or Dead Sea.

Jerusalem was built on four hills, called Sion, Acra, Moriah, and Bezetha. On Moriah stood the magnificent temple. The city was surrounded by a triple wall. Its principal fountain was Siloa.

The promised land, strictly so called, was much more extensive than our maps generally represent it. A good part of Lebanon, with the fruitful vales that intersect it, ought to be included in it; and the ten tribes and a half on this side Jordan, extended their settlements southward a good way into Arabia.

Palestine is represented by Moses as a remarkably fertile country, in which the best modern travellers agree. Some writers, forming their opinion from the present neglected state of the country, have presumptuously asserted, that it could not possibly have maintained the great number of inhabitants which we read of in the time of David and Solomon. The country around Jerusalem is indeed ill adapted for tillage, but its vineyards and olive yards highly enriched it. But the soil of Palestine is, in general, much richer than that of the best parts of Syria.—The rocks and hills were anciently covered with soil. The stones were gathered and placed in several lines along the sides of the hills in the form of a wall, by which means the mould was prevented from being washed down. Many beds of soil rose gradually one above another, from the bottom to the tops of the mountains. Thus the very rocks were made fruitful.

The mountains abound in some places with thyme, rosemary, sage, and aromatic plants, from which the bee makes its honey; and in other parts there are various shrubs, and a delicate soft grass, of which the cattle are very fond, so that, with proper culture, Judea would again become a land flowing with milk and honey. The barrenness or scarcity of which some writers speak, does not proceed from the incapacity or natural unfruitfulness of the country, but from the general neglect of agriculture occasioned by a wretched system of government, and the perpetual discords and depredations among the petty governors, who lay waste the face of nature. From the

present situation of the country, for more than a thousand years devastated by war, and the tyranny of barbarians, no conclusion can be drawn with respect to its natural fertility.

When the Israelites entered this region, the inhabitants were guilty of the most licentious abominations of idolatry. From the top of mount Nebo, the Hebrew legislator surveyed a large tract of country. Gazing on the magnificent prospect, beholding in prophetic anticipation his great and happy Commonwealth occupying its numerous towns and blooming fields, Moses breathed his last.

Such was the end of the Hebrew lawgiver—a man who, considered merely in a historical light, without any reference to his divine inspiration, has exercised a more extensive and permanent influence over the destinies of his own nation and mankind at large, than any other individual, recorded in the annals of the world. Christianity and Mahometanism alike respect, and, in different degrees, derive their origin from the Mosaic institutes. Thus, throughout Europe, with all its American descendants—the larger part of Asia and the north of Africa—the opinions, the usages, the civil as well as religious ordinances—retain deep and indelible traces of their descent from the Hebrew polity. To his own nation Moses was chieftain, historian, poet, lawgiver. He was more than all these—he was the author of their civil existence. Other founders of republics, and distinguished legislators, have been like Numa, already at the head of a settled and organized community; or have been voluntarily invested with legislative authority, like Charondas, Lycurgus, and Solon, by a people suffering the inconveniences of anarchy. Moses had first to form his people, and bestow on them a country of their own, before he could create his commonwealth.

The Hebrews would either have been absorbed in the population of Egypt, or remained a wretched Parian caste, had Moses never lived, or never received his divine commission. In this condition he took them up, rescued them from captivity; finding them unfit for his purposes, he kept them by Divine command for forty years under the severe discipline of the desert; then led them as conquerors to take permanent possession of a most fruitful region. Yet, with singular disregard to his own fame, though with great advantage to his design, Moses uniformly referred to an earlier and a more remote personage the dignity of parent of his people. The Jews were children of Abraham, not of Moses; they were a distinguished nation as descendants of the patriarch, not as compatriots of

the lawgiver. The virtue of pure disinterested patriotism never shone forth more unclouded.

Let Moses, as contrasted with human legislators, be judged according to his age; he will appear, not merely the first who founded a commonwealth on just principles, but a lawgiver who advanced political society to as high a degree of perfection as the state of civilization which his people had attained, or were capable of attaining, could possibly admit. But if such be the benign, the prematurely wise, and original character of the Mosaic institutions, the faith of the Jew and the Christian in the Divine commission of the great legislator is the more strongly established and confirmed.

Joshua assumed the command, passed the Jordan, took Jericho, attacked and defeated the Canaanites of the North and the South; city after city fell; tribe after tribe was exterminated. The war lasted in the whole seven years, the latter part of which was consumed in the reduction of the cities. During this period, the seven nations—the Canaanites, properly so called—the Amorites, the Hittites, the Hivites, the Girgashites, the Perizzites, and the Jebusites—were entirely subdued, though not extirpated; thirty-one kings had fallen under the sword. Fatally for the future peace of the Commonwealth, the war was suspended; the conquest remained unfinished; many of the Canaanites continued within the Jewish territory, ready on all occasions to wreak their vengeance on the conquerors, and perpetually weaning the Israelites from their own pure and spiritual faith to the barbarous or licentious rites of idolatry.

The first two objects after the conquest were first, the solemn recognition of the law on mount Ebal and Gerizzim. Secondly, the survey and division of the land, with the location of the tribes.

According to a careful computation, the Jewish dominion at the time of the division, was 180 miles long, by 130 wide, and contained 14,976,000 acres. This quantity of land will divide to 600,000 men, about  $21\frac{1}{2}$  acres in property, with a remainder of 1,976,000 for the Levitical cities, the princes of the tribes, the heads of families, and other public uses. Assuming the estate of  $21\frac{1}{2}$  acres, assigned to each household, of course a larger proportion of pasture must have been given to those tribes, who subsisted on their herds and flocks, than of arable to those who lived by tillage, the portions of the latter, therefore, must be considerably reduced.

On the other hand, the extraordinary fertility of the whole country must be taken into the account. No part was waste; very little was occupied by unprofitable wood; the more fertile hills were cultivated in artificial terraces, others were hung with orchards of fruit trees; the more rocky and barren districts were covered with vineyards. Even in the present day, the wars and misgovernment of ages have not exhausted the natural richness of the soil. Galilee, says Malté Brun, would be a paradise, were it inhabited by an industrious people, under an enlightened government. No land can be less dependent on foreign importation; it bears within itself every thing that could be necessary for the subsistence and comfort of a simple agricultural people. The climate is healthy, the seasons regular; the former rains, which fall about October, after the vintage, prepare the ground for the seed; the latter, which prevail during March and the beginning of April, make it grow rapidly. As soon as the rains cease, the grain ripens with great rapidity, and is gathered in before the end of May. The summer months are dry and hot; but the nights cool, and refreshed by copious dews. In September, the vintage is gathered. Grain of all kinds—wheat, barley, millet, zea, and other sorts would grow in abundance. Besides the vine and the olive, the almond, the date, figs of many kinds, the orange, the pomegranate, and many other fruit trees flourish in the greatest luxuriance. Great quantity of honey might be collected. The balm-tree, which produced the opo-balsamum, a great object of trade, was probably introduced from Arabia in the time of Solomon.

The assignment of the different estates, seems to have been left to the local government of each tribe. Certain distinguished persons, as Joshua and Caleb, received grants of land larger than ordinary; perhaps the heads of tribes enjoyed a similar privilege; but the whole land was subject to the common law of property. The great principle of this law was the inalienability of estates. Houses in walled towns might be sold in perpetuity, if unredeemed within the year; land only for a limited period. At the Jubilee every estate reverted, without re-purchase, to the original proprietor. Even during this period it might be redeemed, should the proprietor become rich enough, at the value which the estate would produce during the years unelapsed before the Jubilee. This remarkable Agrarian law secured the political equality of the people, and anticipated all the mischiefs so fatal to the early republics of Greece and Rome, the appropriation of the whole territory



of the state by a rich and powerful landed oligarchy, with the consequent convulsions of the community, from the deadly struggle between the patrician and plebeian orders. In the Hebrew state, the improvident individual might reduce himself and his family to penury or servitude, but he could not perpetuate a race of slaves or paupers. Every fifty years God, the King and Lord of the soil, as it were, resumed the whole territory, and granted it back in the same portions to the descendants of the original possessors.

Thus the body of the people were an independent yeomanry, residing on their hereditary farms, the boundaries of which remained forever of the same extent; for the removal of a neighbor's landmark was among the crimes against which the law uttered its severest malediction. In this luxuriant soil, each man had the only capital necessary to cultivate his property to the highest degree of productiveness, the industry of himself and his sons. Hence large properties would by no means have increased the general wealth, while they might have endangered the independence of the people. The greater danger to be apprehended in so populous a country, might seem to have been the minute subdivisions of the estates, as all the sons inherited; the eldest had a double portion. Females succeeded only in default of males, and then under the restriction that they might not marry out of their own tribe. Yet this inconvenience seems never to have been practically felt; the land, though closely, was never overpeopled.

Each estate was held on the tenure of military service; all Israel was one standing army. The only taxes were the two-tenths and the other religious offerings. The first tenth was assigned to the tribe of Levi, for the maintenance of this learned nobility, and in return for a surrender of their right to a twelfth portion of the land. The Levites had likewise 48 cities, each with a domain of between eight and nine hundred acres. The second tenth was called the Tithe of Feasts, or the Tithe of the Poor. Every third year in the chief town of the district, public tables were opened, at which all ranks and classes feasted together at the common expense of the richer proprietors. An institution simple and beautiful, securing the advantages of brotherhood and kindly feeling; while it avoided that too great interference with the private and domestic habits which arose out of the public tables in some of the Grecian republics. The Hebrew was reminded that he was a member of a larger national, and a smaller municipal community, but

his usual sphere was that of private life. The Greek was always a public man; the member of the family was lost in the citizen.

The only public revenue of the Hebrew Commonwealth was that of the sacred treasury, the only public expenditure that of the religious worship. This was supported by a portion of the spoils taken in war; the first fruits, which in their institution were no more than could be carried in a basket, at a later period were rated to be one part in sixty; the redemption of the first born, and of whatever was vowed to the Lord. Almost every thing of the last class might be commuted for money according to a fixed scale. The different annual festivals were well calculated to promote internal commerce; maritime or foreign trade, is scarcely mentioned in the law.

The manufactures of the people supplied their own wants. They brought from Egypt the arts of weaving woollens and linens, stuffs made of fine goat's hair, and probably cotton; of dying in various colors, and bleaching, and of embroidering; of many kinds of carpenter's work; of building, some of the rules of which were regulated by law; of making earthenware vessels; of working in iron, brass, and the precious metals, both casting them and forming them with the tool; of gilding, engraving seals, and various other kinds of ornamental work, which were employed in the construction of the altars and sacred vessels of the Tabernacle.

Joshua appointed no successor to the supreme authority, and the separate republics, under the control of their own chieftains, and other local officers, assumed the administration of affairs. One fatal act of disobedience, the desisting from the war before their enemies were rooted out, prevented the permanence of the blessings which the people enjoyed; and the land, which was intended to be a scene of peace and freedom, before long became that of war and servitude. The neighborhood of the idolatrous tribes led to apostacy, apostacy to weakness and subjection.

Under the authority of judges, which lasted about 460 years, we are presented with a period, if carelessly surveyed, of alternate slavery and bloody struggles for independence. Hence may rashly be inferred the total failure of the Mosaic polity in securing the happiness of the people. But the views of the legislator were not carried into effect, and the miseries of the people were the natural consequences of their deviation from their original statutes. But in fact out of this period of 460 years, not one fourth was passed under foreign oppression,

and many of the servitudes seem to have been local, extending only over certain tribes, not over the whole nation. Above 300 years of peaceful and uneventful happiness remain, to which history, only faithful in recording the crimes and sufferings of man, bears the favorable testimony of her silence.

If the Hebrew nation did not enjoy a high degree of intellectual civilization, yet as simple husbandmen, possessing perfect freedom, equal laws, the regular administration of justice—cultivating a soil which yielded bountifully, yet required but light labor—with a religion strict as regards the morals which are essential to individual, domestic, and national peace, yet indulgent in every kind of social and festive enjoyment,—the descendants of Abraham had reached a higher state of virtue and happiness than any other nation of the period. A uniform simplicity of manners pervaded the whole people; they were all shepherds or husbandmen. Gideon was summoned to deliver his country from the thrashing floor: Saul, even after he was elected king, was found driving his herd: David was educated in the sheep fold. But the habits of the people are no where described with such apparent fidelity and lively interest as in the rural tale of Ruth and her kinsman—a history which united all the sweetness of the best pastoral poetry with the truth and simplicity of real life.

The people, at length, determined to change their form of government, and a monarchy was established under Saul. The conquests of David made the Jews masters of the eastern branch of the Red Sea; and under Solomon, a fleet manned by Tyrians sailed along the eastern coast of Africa, in some part of which was Ophir. Solomon subdued part of the Syrian tribes, and built two cities, Tadmor, (Palmyra,) and Baalath, (Baal-ber,) between the Euphrates and the coast. His most splendid work was the celebrated Temple, and the most glorious scene of his reign was the dedication. The prayer is of unexampled sublimity. As the king concluded in these emphatic terms—"Now, therefore, arise, O Lord God, into thy resting place, thou and the ark of thy strength: let thy priests, O Lord God, be clothed with salvation, and thy saints rejoice in thy goodness. O Lord God, turn not away from the face of thine anointed: remember the mercies of David, thy servant"—the cloud which had rested over the Holy of Holies, grew brighter and more dazzling; fire broke out and consumed all the sacrifices; the priest stood without, awe-struck by the insupportable splendor: the whole people fell on their

faces, and worshipped and praised the Lord; "for he is good, and his mercy is forever."

Which was greater, the external magnificence, or the moral sublimity of this scene? Was it the temple, situated on its commanding eminence, with all its courts, the dazzling splendor of its materials, the innumerable multitudes, the priesthood in their gorgeous attire, the king, with all the ensignia of royalty, on his throne of burnished brass, the music, the radiant cloud filling the temple, the sudden fire flashing upon the altar, the whole nation upon their knees? Was it not rather the religious grandeur of the hymns and of the prayer: the exalted and rational views of the Divine Nature, the union of a whole people in the adoration of one Great, Incomprehensible, Almighty, Everlasting Creator.

Who can contrast this sublime scene with the supplications, religious ceremonies, and principles of the Roman people, and hesitate to admit the divine legation of the fugitive shepherd of Israel?

Solomon died after a reign of forty years, and with him expired the glory and the power of the Jewish empire.

Under his son Rehoboam, the kingdom was divided. Ten of the tribes unanimously renounced their allegiance, raised Jeroboam to the throne, and forced the son of Solomon to fly to his native kingdom of Judah. Thus the national union was forever dissolved, and the Hebrew kingdom never recovered the fatal blow. The wickedness of the kings of the ten tribes did not reach its height till the accession of Ahab, (B. C. 919,) who had married Jezebel, the fierce and cruel daughter of the king of Sidon. Under her influence the Sidonian worship of Baal, the Sun, was introduced; his temples openly built and consecrated; and this fierce and persecuting idolatry threatened to exterminate the ancient religion.

At this period, the prophets acted their most prominent and important part in Jewish history. Prophecy, in its more extensive meaning, comprehended the whole course of religious education; and as the Levitical class were the sole authorised conservators and interpreters of the law, the prophets were usually of that tribe, or at least persons educated under their care. Now, however, they assume a higher character, and appear as a separate and influential class in the State. They are no longer the musicians, poets, and historians of the country, but men full of a high and solemn enthusiasm, the moral and religious teachers of the people. The most eminent were designated for their office by divine inspiration, endowed with

the power of working miracles, and of foretelling future events. But, independently of their divine commission, the prophets were the great constitutional patriots of the Jewish State, the champions of virtue, liberty, justice, and the strict observance of the civil and religious law, against the iniquities of kings and of the people. In no instance do they fall beneath the lofty and humane morals of the Mosaic Institution. They are always on the side of the oppressed; they boldly rebuke, but never factiously insult, their kings; they defend, but never flatter the passions of the people. In no instance does one of the acknowledged seers, like the turbulent demagogues of the Grecian or Roman Republics, abuse his popular influence for his own personal aggrandizement or authority.

As the storm darkened over the Hebrew kingdom, the voices of the prophets became louder and more sublime. In their magnificent lyric odes, we have a poetical history of these momentous times, not merely describing the fall of the two Hebrew nations, but that of the adjacent kingdoms likewise. As each independent tribe or monarchy was swallowed up in the great universal empire of Assyria, the seers of Judah watched the progress of the invader; and uttered their sublime funeral anthems over the greatness, the prosperity, and independence of Moab, and Ammon, Damascus, and Tyre. They were like the great tragic chorus to the awful drama, which was unfolding itself in the eastern world.

Shalmanezzer, the Assyrian monarch, besieged Samaria, (B. C. 720,) which, after an obstinate resistance of three years, surrendered; and thus terminated forever the independent kingdom of Israel or Ephraim. It was the policy of the Assyrian monarchs to transplant the inhabitants of the conquered provinces on their borders, to the inland districts of their empire. From this period history loses sight of the ten tribes as a distinct people. Prideaux supposes that they were totally lost and absorbed in the nations among whom they settled: but imagination has loved to follow them into remote and inaccessible regions, where it is supposed they still await the final restoration of the twelve tribes to their native land; or, it has traced the Jewish features, language, and religion, in different tribes, particularly the Afghans of India, and in a still wilder spirit of romance, in the Americans.

Nebuchadnezzar, who was associated in the empire of Assyria with his father, (B. C. 601,) passed the Euphrates, and rapidly overran the whole of Syria and Palestine. Jerusalem was taken, and the king was put in chains, to be carried

as a prisoner to Babylon, but on his submission, he was reinstated on the throne, yet the temple was plundered, and Daniel and many others were taken to Babylon. Three years after he attempted to throw off the yoke of Assyria, but was slain, perhaps in some sally, (B. C. 598.) His son had scarcely mounted the throne, when Nebuchadnezzar appeared at the gates of the city, which surrendered at discretion. The king and all the royal family of Judah, the remaining treasures of the temple, and all the more useful artizans, were carried away to Babylon. Over the wreck of the kingdom, Zedekiah was permitted to reign. In his ninth year, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the prophet Jeremiah, he endeavored to assert his independence, and Jerusalem made some resistance. At length, famine reduced the fatal obstinacy of despair. Jerusalem opened its gates; the king, attempting to escape, was seized; his children were slain before his face; his eyes were put out; and thus, the last king of the royal house of David, blind and childless, was led to a foreign prison. The relentless Nabuzaradan executed the orders of his master, by levelling the city, the palaces, and the temple, in one common ruin. The chief priests were put to death; the rest carried into captivity. "Her gates are sunk into the ground; he hath destroyed and broken her bars; her kings and her princes are among the Gentiles; the law is no more; her prophets find no vision from the Lord. The elders of the daughters of Zion sit on the ground, and keep silence. How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed! The stones of the sanctuary are poured out in the top of every street. Our necks are under persecution: we labor and have no rest. The joy of our heart is ceased; our dance is turned into mourning."

A people, transplanted from their native country, if scattered in small numbers, gradually melt away, and are absorbed in the surrounding tribes: if settled in larger masses, remote from each other, they grow up into distinct commonwealths; but in a generation or two the principle of separation, which is perpetually at work, effectually obliterates all community of interest or feeling. One nation alone seems entirely exempt from this universal law. During the Babylonian captivity, as under the longer dispensation under which they have been for ages afflicted, the Jews still remained a separate people. However widely divided from their native country, they were still Jews; however remote from each other, they were still brethren. Their law and their religion are the strong bonds which hold together this single people.

and Alexandrian Jews enjoyed many marks of the royal favor; and while almost all the rest of the world was ravaged by war, their country flourished in profound peace.

But, at length, they were destined to endure the barbarous tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes, (B. C. 175.) Yet the savage and tyrannical violence of this persecutor was perhaps the safe guard of the Jewish nation from the greatest danger to which it had ever been exposed, the slow and secret encroachment of Grecian manners, arts, vices, and idolatry. It roused the dormant energy of the whole people, and united again, in indissoluble bonds, the generous desires of national independence, with zealous attachment to the national religion. It again identified the true patriot with the devout worshipper. Antiochus having got possession of Jerusalem, put to death in three days 40,000 of the inhabitants, and seized as many more to be sold as slaves, and committed the most wanton outrages against the religion of the people. The persecutions, as we learn from the book of the Maccabees, were dreadful, and the worship of Jehovah was threatened with extermination. But this violent oppression roused a noble band of patriots. Judas unfolded the banner of the Maccabees, (a name the derivation of which is not known,) and his achievements are equal, if not superior, to any of the heroic exploits of the patriots of Greece and Rome. On all sides triumphant, Judas entered, with his valiant confederates, the ruined and desolate Jerusalem. Every part of the sacred edifice had been profaned. He constructed a new altar, and celebrated the feast of dedication—a period of eight days—which ever after was held sacred in the Jewish calendar. It was the festival of the regeneration of the people, which, but for the valor of the Maccabees, had almost lost its political existence. Judas, at length, drove the enemies of his nation out of Judæa. But the spirit of faction, and contentions for the High Priesthood, at length enabled the Syrians again to take possession of Jerusalem. Judas entered into a formal alliance with Rome, but before any assistance could be afforded, the glorious career of the Maccabee was terminated. Among those lofty spirits who have asserted the liberty of their native land against wanton and cruel oppression, none have surpassed the most able of the Maccabees in accomplishing a great end with inadequate means; none ever united more generous valor with a better cause.

The faction of the unworthy High Priest, Alcimus, now triumphed, but subsequently Jonathan, supported by the influence of his alliance with Rome, became master of Judæa, and

assumed the pontifical robe; and in his person commenced the reign of the Asmonean princes. The victorious high priest stormed Joppa, took Azotus, and there destroyed the famous temple of Dagon. (The revolution in the kingdom of Syria, at this time, was favorable to the political interests of Judæa, each of the competitors for the kingdom courting the support of the Jews.) But, betrayed by the insidious offers of peace from one of the generals of the Syrian army, he was taken prisoner, and put to death. His brother Simon, openly espousing the party of Demetrius against Tryphon, received a full recognition of the independence of his country, and directed his whole attention to the consolidation and internal security of the Jewish kingdom. He sent an ambassage to Rome, which was favorably received. In the mean time, the brother of the late king of Syria sent to Jerusalem to demand tribute, and on the Jewish sovereign refusing all submission, an army was sent to invade Judæa. Simon and his elder son were treacherously assaulted, but the younger son, inheriting the vigor and ability of his family, determined to revenge the base murder of his father. But the Syrian army overran the whole country, and he was closely besieged in Jerusalem, and at last compelled to submit to vassalage under the kings of Syria. But whilst the king of Syria was engaged in a distant expedition, Hyrcanus (John) availing himself of an opportunity to withdraw from his liege lord, threw off the yoke of Syria, (B. C. 149,) and the Jewish kingdom reassumed its independence, which it maintained until it fell under the Roman dominion. The Syrian kingdom being distracted by rival competitors for the throne, the prudent and enterprising Hyrcanus lost no opportunity of extending his territory and increasing his power. But that which raised him the highest in the opinion of his zealous countrymen, was the capture of Sichem and the destruction of the rival temple on Gerizim, which for two hundred years had shocked the sight of the pilgrim to Jerusalem. Having reduced Sichem, he became master of all Samaria and Galilee. *Those who are most forward in asserting their liberty, do not always know how to enjoy it; still less how to concede it to others.*

Aristobulus, the son of Hyrcanus, succeeded: his reign, though brief, was long enough for much crime and much misery. His mother, claiming by the will of Hyrcanus the sovereignty, was thrown into a dungeon and starved to death. His brother Antigonus was assassinated. Aristobulus, seized with agonizing compunction for his crimes, vomited blood, and



Seventy years after the captivity of Judah, the Assyrian monarchy was overthrown by the Medes and Persians under Cyrus, and the conqueror issued the welcome edict, commanding the restoration of the exiled Hebrews to their native land. Their first object was to restore the worship of God; the altar was set up, the feasts re-established, and the temple at length built, probably on the old foundations. Unexpected difficulties impeded its progress. The people called Samaritans made overtures to assist in the great national work, but their proposal was peremptorily and contemptuously rejected.

The Samaritans were probably a mixture of the ten tribes of Israel, who remained or returned to the country, and the colonists who were introduced by the Assyrians. These colonists were perhaps slowly and imperfectly weaned from their native superstitions, and fell by degrees into the habits and belief of their adopted country. The traditions of the Samaritans derive their regular lineage from Ephraim and Manasseh, the sons of Joseph. The remarkable fact, that this people have preserved the book of the Mosaic law in the ruder and more ancient character, while the Jews, after their return from Babylon, universally adopted the more elegant Chaldean form of letters, (in which the Hebrew Bible is now printed,) strongly confirms the opinion, that although by no means pure and unmingled, the Hebrew blood still predominated in their race. In many other respects, regard for the Sabbath, and even of the Sabbatic year, and the payment of tithes to their priests, the Samaritans did not fall below their Jewish rivals in attachment to the Mosaic polity.

From this period the hostility of the Jews and Samaritans assumed its character of fierce and implacable animosity.

The reign of Artaxerxes, the successor of Xerxes on the Persian throne, was favorable to the Jews. In the seventh year, a new migration took place from Babylon, headed by Ezra. And Nehemiah received a commission to rebuild the city. Ezra, who had been superseded in the civil administration by Nehemiah, devoted himself to the momentous task of collating the sacred books of the Jews. Much of the Hebrew literature was lost at the time of the captivity; the ancient book of Jasher, the writings of Gad, and Iddo the prophet, and those of Solomon on Natural History. At this time most likely the Jews began to establish synagogues, for the use of which copies of the sacred writings were multiplied. And the Jewish constitution was finally re-established. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of Malachi, the last of the prophets, the solemn

covenant was forgotten. The Jews had entered into family alliances with strangers. Nehemiah, armed with authority from the Persian court, reformed these disorders, but Sanballat, the Horonite, (whose daughter the high priest had married, for which offence he was expelled from Jerusalem,) took signal revenge. He built a rival temple on mount Gerizim, and appointed his banished son-in-law high priest; and thus the schism between the two nations, the Jews and Samaritans, was perpetuated, and was a constant source of animosity and violence.

During the great period of Grecian splendor in arms, enterprise, and letters, the Jews in quiet, and perhaps enviable obscurity, lay hid within their native valleys. The tide of war rolled on at a distance, wasting Asia Minor, and occasionally breaking on the shores of Cyprus and Egypt. The Greeks little apprehended that a few leagues inland from the coast which their fleets perpetually passed, a people was quietly pursuing its rural occupations, and cultivating its luxuriant soil, yet possessed treasures of poetry, which would rival their own Pindar and Simonides, moral wisdom which might put to shame that of Plato, and were worshipping God, who made the world and all things therein, whom they, with all their philosophy, and all their searching, could not find out.

The principal administration of the Persian governors exercised only a general superintendence over the subject nations, and the internal government of Jerusalem fell insensibly into the hands of the High Priests. At length the peace of this favored district was interrupted by the invasion of Alexander the Great. On the death of Alexander, Judæa came into the possession of Laomedon, one of his generals. On his defeat, Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, attempted to seize the whole of Syria. He entered Jerusalem on the Sabbath, and met with no resistance, and the conqueror carried away 100,000 captives, whom he settled chiefly in Alexandria and Cyrene. But, in a short time, he adopted a more humane policy, and intrusted the chief garrisons of Judæa to the care of the Jews. But Syria and Judæa did not escape the dreadful anarchy which ensued during the destructive warfare waged by the generals and successors of Alexander. The founding of the Syro-Grecian kingdom by Selucus, and the establishment of Antioch as the capital, brought Judæa into the unfortunate situation of a weak province, placed between two great conflicting monarchies. Still, under the mild government of the first three Ptolemies, Soter, Philadelphus, and Euergetes, both the native

soon after expired in an agony of remorse and horror. Alexander Jannæus, the next in succession, assumed the throne, and put to death his younger brother, who attempted to usurp his place. His reign was a scene of constant war, and on several occasions the kingdom of Judæa was reduced to the greatest extremities. Yet, though almost always defeated in battle, he contrived to retrieve his losses, and extended his dominions: the weakness of the Egyptian and Syrian monarchies, induced by their constant wars, was favorable to his enterprises. For six years during his reign, Judæa suffered all the horrors of a civil war. He fled to the mountains, but a sudden revulsion of popular feeling took place in his favor, and he found himself at the head of 60,000 men. His vengeance was signal and terrible. He publicly crucified 800 of his opponents, and slew their wives and children before their faces.

The two great religious and political factions that distracted the State, were those of the Pharisees and Sadducees. The origin and growth of these violent parties, that were the constant source of fierce and dangerous dissensions, are involved in obscurity. The Maccabees had greatly owed their success to the Chasidim, or righteous, as they called themselves; and these degenerated into the haughty, tyrannical, and censorious Pharisees. They regarded themselves the only faithful servants of God. As God, they said, had conquered by them, so he ruled by them, and the Sadducees and other sects were the enemies of the national religion, the national constitution, and the national Deity.—The better order among the opponents of the Pharisees were the Karaites, strict adherents to the letter of the law, but decidedly rejecting all traditions. The great strength of the party, however, consisted of the Sadducees, who asserted free will; whilst the Pharisees were predestinarians. The Pharisees believed in the immortality of the soul, and the existence of angels. The Sadducees denied both. The Pharisees received not merely the law and the prophets, but the traditional law likewise, and regarded it as of equal authority with the law of Moses. The Sadducees, if they did not reject, considered the prophets greatly inferior to the law.

Alexandra, the widow of the late king, who had reigned twenty-seven years, adopting his advice, deserted the Sadducean faction, and threw himself on the protection of the Pharisaic party, powerful on account of their turbulence and numbers, and still more from having the people entirely under their direction. The son (of the late unpopular king) Hyrcanus

was immediately elevated to the high priesthood, and the Sadducean party, the staunch supporters of Alexander, were everywhere persecuted. After an energetic reign of nine years, she expired. Her younger son Aristobulus placed himself at the head of the opposite party, and Hyrcanus being besieged in the palace of Baris, consented to yield up the sovereignty. But Antipater, the father of Herod, an Idumean of noble birth, was the son of Antipas, who had been governor of that province under Alexander Jannæus. Having acquired great influence over the mind of Hyrcanus, he persuaded him to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia. Aretas marched a host of 50,000 men against Aristobulus, and defeated him. At this time, Pompey the Great appeared in Judæa, Jerusalem was taken, and the country reduced to a Roman province.—In the reign of Vespasian, the Jews, attempting to throw off the yoke, (A. D. 71,) were subdued with dreadful slaughter, their city and temple razed, so that not one stone was left upon another; and they have ever since been dispersed over the face of the whole earth.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### EGYPT.

Egypt became a Roman province after the defeat of Cleopatra, at the battle of Actium, B. C. 30; and continued a part of the Roman empire, till it was conquered by the Saracens, 640.

Egypt was divided into Superior and Inferior. It is bounded by the Mediterranean on the north; by the Red Sea and the Isthmus of Suez, which divide it from Arabia, on the east; by Abyssinia or Ethiopia, on the south; and by the desert of Barca and Nubia, on the west, being 600 miles in length from north to south, and from 100 to 200 in breadth from east to west.

The chief cities in Upper Egypt were Memphis, the ancient capital on the Nile, about 100 miles from its mouth, and 15 miles above its division into different streams, near the place where Grand Cairo, the present capital, stands; Thebes, famous for its hundred gates, nearly 200 miles above Memphis; and below it, Coptos, the emporium of Indian and Arabian commodities, which were brought from various parts of the east to Bernice or Myos Hormos, two ports on the Arabian Gulf, and transported thence on camels in twelve days to Coptos.

Near Memphis stood the famous Pyramids, the most stupendous buildings in the world, supposed to have been the burial place of the ancient kings of Egypt. The base of the large pyramid is about 700 feet square, and the height 450; the corresponding admeasurements of the second and third pyramids are 650 feet and 280, and 400 and 160. The extraordinary height is combined with imperishable stability and solidity, the whole being nearly one entire mass of the hardest materials, for the inner galleries and chambers form but mere veins and cavities compared with the entire structure. In the great pyramid, three chambers, hitherto undiscovered, have been lately opened and explored. The largest measuring 38 feet by 17; the second 38 feet 9 inches by 16 feet 8 inches.

These chambers vary as to height, and the blocks of granite which form the ceiling of the one below, serve as a pavement to the next above it. Near the pyramids are the Mummy-Pits, or subterraneous vaults of great extent, with niches in the sides for containing embalmed bodies.

Belzoni says, Gournou is a tract of rocks about two miles in length, at the foot of the Lybian mountains, on the west of Thebes, and was the burial place of the great city of a hundred gates. Every part of these rocks is cut out by art, in the form of large and small chambers, each of which has its separate entrance; and, though they are very close to each other, it is seldom that there is any interior communication from one to another.

The suffocating air of many of these tombs often causes fainting. A vast quantity of dust rises, so fine that it enters into the throat and nostrils, and chokes the nose and mouth to such a degree, that it requires great powers of lungs to resist it and the strong effluvia of the mummies. The passage where the bodies are, is roughly cut in the rocks. In some places there is not more than a vacancy of a foot left, and the passage is nearly filled up by the falling of the sand from the upper part. At the end of one of these passages, some of them two or three hundred yards long, there is generally a place high enough to sit. But, in sitting down, my weight bore on the body of an Egyptian, and it crushed like a band box; and sank among the broken mummies, which raised a suffocating dust. As I went on I was covered with bones, legs, arms, and heads rolling from above. The object of my visit was to rob the mummies of the papyrus, of which I found a few hidden under their arms, and covered by numerous folds of cloth.

Among these tombs we saw some which contained the mummies of bulls, cows, sheep, monkeys, foxes, bats, crocodiles, and birds, intermixed with human bodies. Idols often occur, and one tomb was filled with cats, carefully folded in red and white linen, the head covered by a mask, representing a cat.

There are mummies folded in a manner different from the others, (probably priests;) the bandages are stripes of red and white linen intermixed, covering the whole body. The arms and legs are bandaged separately, even the fingers and toes being preserved distinct. I have seen one that had the eyes and eyebrows of enamel, beautifully executed in imitation of nature.—The dwelling place of the natives is in the passages.

Above Memphis, on the west of the river, were the cities Acanthus and Arsinoe, which gave name to a district in which was the lake Mæris, of immense extent, dug to contain the waters of the Nile, when it rose too high, and communicate with it by canals.

Near this lake was the famous Labyrinth, consisting, according to Herodotus, of twelve palaces and three hundred houses, built of marble, under ground, or covered over, communicating with one another, by innumerable winding passages.

The frontier of Egypt towards Ethiopia were Syene; Elephantine, in an island of the Nile, and Philæ. Below Syéne stood Ombi and Tentyra. About four miles above Elephantina is the lowest cataract of the Nile; above this there are several other cataracts.

The principal part of Lower Egypt was included between the eastern and western branches of the Nile. It was called by the Greeks Delta, from its resemblance to the triangular form of the Greek letter. Near the mouth of the eastern channel stood Pelusium, now Damietta, the ancient key of Egypt; and at the mouth of the western channel, about 100 miles from the former, Canopus, near which is now Rosetta. The capital of the Delta in ancient times was Sais; and near it, Naucratis.

About thirty miles west from this, stood the celebrated city of Alexandria, now Scanderoon, opposite to the island of Pharos, which was joined to the continent by a mole or causeway, nearly a mile long. On this stood the famous light tower, which might be seen 100 miles off.

Egypt became the great granary of the Roman empire. Its fertility is owing to the annual overflowing of the Nile, which is occasioned by periodical rains in Ethiopia or Abyssinia, from the latter end of May to September. The usual height to which it rises is sixteen cubits, or about twenty-eight feet. The river continues muddy for six months, and, during the three which immediately precede the inundation, the stream being low, becomes heated, green, fetid, and full of worms.

The climate, during the greater part of the year, is salubrious; the hot wind in April and May is oppressive, but the summer heat is accompanied by a refreshing northerly breeze.

That the reader may form an idea of this country, let him

imagine on one side a narrow sea and rocks; on the other immense plains of sand; and in the middle a river, flowing through a valley of one hundred and fifty leagues in length, and from three to seven wide, which, at the distance of thirty leagues from the sea, separates into two arms; the branches of which wander over a soil almost free from obstacles, and void of declivity.

Egypt is one of the oldest kingdoms in the world. Here the children of Israel were held in slavery from the death of Joseph, in 1635, to 1491 B. C. In 1445 Lower Egypt was conquered by the Canaanites, who fled from Joshua, when he dispossessed them of their own country. Upper Egypt was divided at this time into a great number of kingdoms, which were united under Misphegmutosis, about 1157; and the Canaanites, or shepherd kings, as they are called, were driven out of Egypt by Amosis in 1070. About 1000 Sesac or Sesostris, the most illustrious of the Egyptian monarchs, made rapid and very extensive conquests, carrying his arms as far as Spain to the west, and of India to the east. On his return to his capital, he is said to have harnessed the captive kings, four abreast, to his chariot. Yet all his conquests gave him no satisfaction; he found that all was vanity and vexation of spirit; and he put an end to his own life.

In 947 the Ethiopians plundered Egypt; 944 they retired to Memphis, being driven thither by Osarsiphus, who was made king of lower Egypt; but in 930 the Ethiopians again conquered the whole. In 788 Egypt was divided into several small kingdoms, and in 751 Sabacon, the Ethiopian, conquered it. In 671 it was subdued by Aberhaddon, king of Assyria, but in 688 it revolted from the Assyrians. In 655 Psammeticus became king of all Egypt, by the reduction of eleven other princes, who had reigned along with him.

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, conquered this country in 566, but towards the end of this monarchy, the Egyptians recovered their liberty. They seem to have been subject to Cyrus about 534; but, probably rebelling, were reduced by Cambyses in 526; and though Egypt several times revolted, it was always recovered by the Persians, and was part of that empire when Alexander the Great put an end to it in 331 B. C. The next period, to the time when Egypt was subdued by the Romans, is the reign of the Ptolemies, the successors of one of Alexander's generals.



Egypt has claimed the honor of being the first seat of learning, and the fountain whence the streams of philosophy flowed to Chaldea, and other Asiatic nations. Though these high pretensions may be without foundation, Egypt was certainly very early famous for wisdom. Many eminent philosophers among the Greeks, such as Orpheus, Thales, Pythagoras, Democritus, and Plato visited Egypt in search of knowledge, and the illustrious legislator of the Hebrews was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."

The history of Egyptian learning and philosophy is involved in obscurity. Knowledge was communicated by the Egyptian priests under the concealment of symbolical characters or hieroglyphics, the key of which was intrusted only to the initiated, and has since been irrecoverably lost. (The sacred letters were called hieroglyphics, because they expressed thought by the figures of certain animals, of the members of the human body, &c. Thus, a hawk was put for velocity; a hare for lively attention; a crocodile for all kinds of malice; the right hand, with the fingers extended, for liberality; and the left hand, with the fingers compressed, for stinginess.) At the time when Egyptian wisdom first flourished, different dogmas were taught in different schools at Thebes, Memphis, &c., which has occasioned great diversities in the accounts given of the Egyptians by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Plutarch. At a later period, when Alexandria became the common resort of learned men from every part of the world, the combinations of their opinions, with those of the native Egyptians give philosophy and religion a form till then unknown. The Greek writers, the chief authorities, have confounded, in many instances, the gods of the Egyptians with their own mythology, and have, on slight resemblances, concluded Osiris to be Jupiter, Typhon to be Pluto, &c.

No nation was ever more superstitious than the Egyptians, who worshipped not only a multiplicity of deities, as Isis, Osiris, Anúbis, Serápis, but a variety of animals, as the ox, the dog, the cat, the hawk, the ibis, the wolf, the crocodile, and even certain vegetables, as leeks and onions, which led Juvenal to exclaim, "O, holy nation, in whose gardens even deities are born." To slay any of these sacred animals by design was a capital offence. But one city or district worshipped one species of animals as gods, which another held in abomination. Isis and Osiris were the only gods whom they all agreed to worship. Isis is supposed to represent the moon,

and Osiris the sun. In imitation of the Egyptian idolatry, probably, Aaron made the golden calf, and Jeroboam the calves of Dan and Bethel.

The Egyptian Thoth was probably some man of superior genius before the time of Moses. The Egyptian priests had the reputation of extraordinary sanctity, and were even supposed to participate of the divinity. They obtained great sway over the people, and possessed no small influence in civil affairs.

The sciences of geometry and astronomy had made some progress among them; and to the Egyptians is ascribed the invention of music and the origin of the medical art. In the fictitious sciences of astrology and magic, they were adepts. One of the most ancient sects of the Magi had its origin among the Egyptians. They made use of small images of various forms, with which they pretended to perform many wonders, and particularly to cure diseases. The image of Harpocrates, an astronomical divinity, was hung from the neck, or worn in a ring on the finger, as an amulet.

The Egyptian theology or philosophy was of two kinds, the one exoteric, addressed to the people; the other, esoteric, confined to a select number of the priests, and to those who possessed or were to possess, regal power. The mysterious nature of their concealed doctrine was symbolically expressed by images of sphinxes placed at the entrance of their temples. The exoteric religion consisted, as has been stated, in the grossest and most irrational superstitions.—It is probable that those objects, which were at first introduced into their religious rites merely as emblems or symbols of invisible divinities, became themselves, in process of time, objects of worship.

Concerning the esoteric, or philosophical doctrine of the Egyptians, it seems evident, in the first place, that they conceived matter to be the first principle of things, and that before the regular forms of nature arose, an eternal chaos had existed, which contained, in a state of darkness and confusion, all the materials of future beings. This Chaos, which was also called night, was, in the most ancient times, worshipped as one of the superior divinities.

Besides this material principle, they admitted an active principle, or intelligent power, eternally united with the chaotic mass, by whose energy the elements were separated, and bodies formed. This opinion was accompanied with a belief in

inferior divinities. Conceiving emanations from the divinity to be resident in various parts of nature; when they saw life, motion, and enjoyment communicated to the inhabitants of the earth from the sun, and, as they supposed, from other heavenly bodies, they ascribed these effects to the influence of certain divinities, derived from the first deity, which they supposed to inhabit these bodies. Hence arose the worship of the sun, under the names of Osiris, Ammon, and Horus; of the moon, under those of Isis, Bubastis, and Buto; of the Cabiri, or planets, &c.

From the same source, it may be easily conceived that, among the Egyptians, as well as in other nations, would arise the worship of deified men. When they saw their illustrious heroes, or legislators, protecting their country by their prowess, or improving human life by useful inventions and institutions, they concluded that a large portion of that divinity, which animates all things, resided in them, and supposed that after their death, the good dæmon that animated them passed into the society of their divinities. In this manner it may be conceived that the worship of heroes would spring up together with that of the heavenly bodies. But whether the former did in fact prevail among the Egyptians, is a question which has been much disputed, and still remains undecided.

The opinion of the Egyptians concerning the human soul is very differently represented by different writers. They appear to have believed it to be immortal; and Herodotus says, they were the first people who taught the doctrine. He mentions the custom of bringing the characters of the deceased under a public trial, and offering up prayers to the gods in behalf of those who were adjudged to have lived virtuously, that they might be admitted into the society of good men. It has been a subject of debate, into what place, according to the Egyptian doctrine, the souls of men passed after death. Plutarch speaks of the Amenthes of the Egyptians, corresponding to the Hades of the Greeks, a subterraneous region, to which the souls of dead men were conveyed. Herodotus gives it as the opinion of the Egyptians, that, when the body decays, the soul passes into some animal, which is then born; and that after it has made the circuit of beasts, birds, and fishes, through a period of three thousand years, it again becomes the inhabitant of a human body.

These different notions concerning the state of the soul after death, were probably held by different colleges of priests, some of whom were advocates for the doctrine of transmigration, while others held, that the souls of good men, after wandering for a time among the stars, were permitted to return to the society of the gods.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.

In order to understand the Philosophy of the Romans, and the opinions of the different Sects of Philosophy which rose up in the city and various parts of the Republic, it is necessary to consider the Philosophy and most eminent Sects of the Greeks, from whom the Romans borrowed their religion and their metaphysical and moral notions.

The Greeks were distinguished almost from the infancy of their civilization by the pursuit of wisdom and learning. Greece was first civilized by colonies from Egypt, Phœnicia, and Thrace. The aspect of philosophy was very different in different parts of Greece. Phoroneus and Cecrops being Egyptians, Cadmus a Phœnician, and Orpheus a Thracian, each of these would, of course, bring into Greece, with his several colonies, the religious and philosophical tenets of his respective nations, and thus lay the foundation of diversity of opinion.

The practice of delivering the doctrines of religion to the people under the disguise of fable, which universally prevailed in Egypt, and was not unknown to the Phœnicians, Thracians, and other nations, was introduced among the Greeks by the first founders of their states. "It was not possible," says Strabo, "to lead a promiscuous multitude to religion and virtue by philosophical harangues; this could only be effected by the aid of superstition, by prodigies and fables. The thunderbolt, the ægis, the trident, the spear, torches and snakes, were the instruments made use of by the founders of states to terrify the ignorant vulgar into subjection."

That the first authors of the Grecian fables meant them as vehicles of instruction cannot be doubted. But it is now become exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to decipher their meaning. The Grecian mythology arose from a variety of sources. Of these, the two principal were the custom of

ranking public benefactors, after their death, among the gods; and the practice of applying allegories and fables to natural objects and appearances.

A veil of obscurity was cast over the fabulous philosophy of the Greeks by the custom, which in early times prevailed, of giving their mythological doctrines a poetical dress.

The first of the Greeks, who is said to have taught philosophy and the arts, is Prometheus, who was an Egyptian or Scythian, and instructed the Greeks in several necessary arts, particularly in the use of fire for the purpose of melting metals, and who, afterwards, suffering captivity, was rescued by Hercules.

Linus, who lived before the time of Homer, was amongst the first authors of Grecian verse. He wrote a cosmogony, was an eminent master of music, and is said to have invented Lyric poetry; and to have instructed Hercules, Thamyras, and Orpheus. Orpheus is the most celebrated of all the Greeks in the fabulous ages, and distinguished himself as a teacher of religion and philosophy. His name is as illustrious among the Greeks, as that of Zoroaster among the Persians, of Bud-das among the Indians, or of Thoth or Hermes, among the Egyptians. He is said to have improved the Lyre, by increasing the number of its strings from four to seven. To him is ascribed the invention of hexameter verse. He possessed great skill in the art of medicine, which may serve to explain the fable of his recalling his wife Eurydice from hell—a fable most beautifully embellished by Virgil. After his death, he was ranked among the divinities. He was probably the author of the Eleusinian and Panathæan mysteries. There are some fragments of the works of Orpheus remaining, from which we make the following extract: “Jupiter, hiding all things within himself, at length sent forth divine productions from his bosom into cheerful light.” The planets and the moon, he conceived to be habitable worlds, and to be animated by divinities. He taught the immortality of the soul, the future punishment of the wicked, and the happiness of the good.

The most celebrated of his disciples was Musæus, an Athenian philosopher and poet. He taught that all things proceed from one source, and will be resolved into the same, which is the first principle of the system of emanation, and the foundation of all the ancient theogonies. His son Eumolpus followed his steps, and wrote concerning the mysteries of Ceres. Tham-

yris and Amphion were, at this period, famous for their skill in music and poetry.

Not inferior to Amphion in fame was Melampus, an Argive, who flourished before the Trojan war. He instructed his countrymen in augury and the arts of divination. He was famous for his medical skill, and made use of magical incantations. Of the ancient theogonies which remain, the most celebrated is that of Hesiod. Chaos is spoken of as eternal; the ancients had no idea of the doctrine of creation from nothing. Jupiter is not to be confounded with the supreme being, but merely to be considered as the chief of those inferior divinities, who, according to the Grecian theology, were either portions of the Divinity, inhabiting or animating parts of nature, or departed spirits of heroes and illustrious men, exalted to divine honors.

The sum of the doctrine of the theogonies, divested of allegory and poetry is as follows:—The first matter, containing the seeds of all future being, existed from eternity with God. At length, the divine energy upon matter produced a motion among its parts, by which those of the same kind were brought together, and those of a different kind were separated, and by which, according to certain wise laws, the various forms of the material world were produced. The same energy of emanation gave existence to animals and men, and to gods who inhabit the heavenly bodies, and various other parts of nature. Among men, those who possess a larger portion of the divine nature than others, are hereby impelled to great and beneficent actions, and afford illustrious proofs of their divine original, on account of which they are after death raised to a place among the gods, and become objects of religious worship. Upon the basis of these notions, it is easy to conceive, that the whole mythological rites and mysteries of the Greeks, might be founded.

Epimenides was a Cretan, of whom marvellous fables are related. It is said that he slept for fifty years; that he had the power of sending his soul out of his body, and recalling it at pleasure; and that he had familiar intercourse with the gods.

Homer flourished about 912 B. C., before any other poet whose writings are now extant. Justin Martyr supposes that Homer borrowed many things from Moses; but his works were written as a display of poetical genius, without any design of delivering precepts of religion, philosophy, or the arts, farther than as they individually arose from his subject; and if

the whole fable of Jupiter, as it is represented in his poems, be fairly examined, it will be very evident, that he had not just conceptions of the Divine Nature.

**POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.**—In the more settled state of society, religion was so far separated from policy, that its doctrines and ceremonies were committed to the charge of priests; and the institution of laws, and the regulation of manners, were intrusted to men, whose superior wisdom and public spirit qualified them for the offices of legislation and magistracy. Among the numerous legislators of Greece, Zaleucus, the founder of the Locrian State, was one of the first. In his youth he lived in servitude, in the capacity of a shepherd, but his extraordinary abilities and merit obtained for him his freedom, and, at length, raised him to the government. His laws were severe, but well adapted to the people, and their constitution was for several ages highly celebrated. His name may be placed at the head of the noble friends of humanity, who are now regenerating the world by the advocacy of Temperance principles. He strictly prohibited the use of wine. When his son had subjected himself to the penalty of the loss of his eyes, he shared the penalty with the offender; and that he might only be deprived of one eye, submitted to lose one of his own.

The first legislator of Athens was Triptolemus. His laws becoming obsolete, or being found insufficient for the regulation of the State, Draco, 624 B. C., instituted a new code, so exceedingly rigorous, that they are said to have been written with blood. The severity of this discipline was afterwards relaxed by Solon, 559 B. C., who framed an entirely new constitution, to which Athens was principally indebted for its subsequent glory. The republic of Sparta was established by L<sup>y</sup>curgus, 926 B. C., whose laws were issued as the edicts of Apollo, and were delivered in verse by Thales, Tyrtæus, and Terpander.

The wise men of this period employed themselves in framing concise precepts and maxims for the conduct of life; they sometimes met together, and agreed to send such sentences as were thought most valuable to Delphi, to be inscribed in the temple. Plain good sense and practical wisdom had not then been taught to give way to useless subtleties. The following are among the apophthegms and precepts which have been ascribed to the seven wise men of Greece:—

He who has learned to obey, will know how to command. In all things let reason be your guide. Diligently contemplate



excellent things. In every thing that you do, consider the end. Three things are difficult; to keep a secret; to bear an injury patiently; and *to spend leisure well*. Visit your friend in misfortune, rather than in prosperity. Never ridicule the unfortunate. Think before you speak. Desire not impossibilities. Gold is tried by the touchstone, and men are tried by gold. Honest loss is preferable to shameful gain; for, by the one, a man is a sufferer but once; by the other, always. Speak no evil of the dead. Reverence the aged. *Know thyself*. Power discovers the man. *Whatever you do, do it well*. *Be watchful for opportunities*. Do not that to your neighbor which you would take ill from him. Carry all your treasures with you. Be not unmindful of the miseries of others. If you are handsome, do handsome things; if deformed, supply the defects of nature by your virtues. *Be slow in undertaking, but resolute in executing*. Praise not a worthless man for the sake of his wealth. *Whatever good you do, ascribe it to God*. Lay in wisdom as the store for your journey from youth to old age, for it is the most certain possession. Happy is the family, where the master is more loved than feared. *When you go abroad, consider what you have to do; when you return home, what you have done*. Marry among your equals, that you may not become a slave to your wife's relations. Be more desirous to hear than to speak. Avoid excess. Pleasure is precarious, but virtue is immortal. Study to be worthy of your parents. There is nothing which prudence cannot accomplish.

THE IONIC SECT.—We have now to observe Greece in that more advanced age, in which it passed from traditionary opinion, and sententious wisdom, to more accurate speculations and reasonings.

Two eminent philosophers arose about the same period, who may be considered as the fountains from which philosophy flowed, not only through Greece, but through all other countries in which the Greek language was spoken, and Rome in which Greek literature was cultivated. These gave rise to distinct classes of philosophers, who, because they *followed* the tenets, and the method of philosophising, which had been received by some one master, and rejected all others, have been usually denominated Sects. One of these fathers of the *sectarian philosophy* was Thales, B. C. 540. He began to philosophise at Miletus in Ionia; and from his school sprung up not only the Ionic sect, but that of Socrates and his disciples, from whom arose the several sects of Academics, Cyrenaics, Eristics,

Peripatetics, Cynics, and Stoics.—The other was Pythagoras, the Samian, who not only founded the Pythagorean school in Magna Grecia, but gave occasion to the institution of several other sects, particularly the Eleatic, the Heraclitic, the Epicurean, and the Pyrrhonic. The sect founded by Thales, with all its branches, is called the Ionic School: the sects immediately or more remotely derived from Pythagoras are called the Italic School.

Thales was not only famous for his knowledge of nature and his mathematical learning, but for his moral and political wisdom. He taught that water is the first principle in nature; that the magnet and amber are endued with a soul; that all nature is full of dæmons, or intelligences. Some have doubted whether he admitted an intelligent, efficient cause. He was so well acquainted with the celestial motions, as to be able to predict an eclipse.

Anaximander, 530 B. C., cherished the seeds of science which Thales had sown. He was the first who committed the principles of natural science to writing. His general doctrine was, "that infinity is the first principle of all things, in which they all terminate." But what he meant is not known. He was the first who undertook to delineate the surface of the earth, and mark the divisions of land and water upon an artificial globe. The invention of the sun-dial is ascribed to him. Pliny says that he was the first who observed the obliquity of the ecliptic, but this cannot be true, if Thales was acquainted with the method of predicting eclipses, which supposes the knowledge of this obliquity. He taught that the earth is a globe placed in the middle of the universe, and remains in its place.

Anaximenes was a pupil of Anaximander. He taught that the first principle of all things is Air, which he maintained to be God. Attentive to material causes, he was silent concerning the nature of the Divine mind. He taught that the stars are fiery substances, fixed in the heavens, as nails in a crystalline plane.

Anaxagoras was his disciple. He said concerning himself, "that he was born to contemplate the heavens." Being reproached for neglecting his estate and the welfare of his country, he replied, pointing to heaven, "my first care is for *my* country." He taught philosophy in private at Athens, and among his pupils were Euripides the tragedian, and Pericles the statesman, and some add Themistocles and Socrates. His reputation excited the jealousy of his contemporaries, and

brought upon him a cruel persecution. He taught that the sun was inanimate, and not a proper object of worship, and was accused of impiety. When one of his friends expressed regret on account of his banishment from Athens, he said, "It is not I who have lost the Athenians, but the Athenians who have lost me." He was the first among the Greeks who conceived mind as detached from matter, and as acting upon it with intelligence, and design in the formation of the universe. He is said to have believed that the moon is an opaque body, enlightened by the sun, and a habitable region, divided into hills, vales, and waters.

Anaxagoras was succeeded by Diogenes Apollonates. He was also persecuted on account of his opinions. He seems to have conceived the infinite ether to be animated by a Divine Mind, and all things to be formed from this compound principle. Archelaus, of Miletus, was his most distinguished disciple. He is said to have taught, that the two principles of things are air and infinity; that the universe is unlimited; that heat is the cause of motion, and cold of rest; that animals have souls, which differ in their powers, according to the structure of the bodies in which they reside. It cannot be determined, whether he admitted a distinct and independent Deity, the author of nature. Concerning morals, he is said to have taught, that the distinction between right and wrong is not founded in nature, but in arbitrary law, a doctrine which scepticism afterwards broached at a much later period. Socrates was one of his disciples. Under Socrates philosophy assumed a new character; so that Archelaus may be considered as the last preceptor of the original Ionic school.

**SOCRATIC SCHOOL.**—The philosophers of the Ionic school, industriously employed in investigating the nature and origin of things, paid little attention to those subjects in which the happiness of human life is immediately concerned. Socrates corrected this error, and introduced a method of philosophising which was calculated to improve the human mind and cherish the virtues of social life. He conceived the true end of philosophy to be, not to make an ostentatious display of superior learning and ability in subtle disputations, or ingenious conjectures, but to free mankind from the dominion of pernicious prejudices; to correct their vices; to inspire them with the love of virtue, and thus to conduct them in the path of wisdom to true felicity. He, therefore, assumed the character of a moral philosopher; and looking upon the whole city of Athens as his school, and all who were disposed to lend him their attention

as his pupils, he seized every occasion of communicating moral wisdom to his fellow citizens.

The method of instruction, which Socrates chiefly made use of, was, to propose a series of questions to the person with whom he conversed, in order to lead him to some unforeseen conclusion. He first gained the consent of his respondent to some obvious truths, and then obliged them to admit others, from their relation or resemblance, to those to which they had already assented. Without making use of any direct argument or persuasion, he chose to lead the person he meant to instruct, to deduce the truths of which he wished to convince him, as a necessary consequence from his own concessions. He commonly conducted these conferences with such address, as to conceal his design, till the respondent had advanced too far to recede. On some occasions, he made use of ironical language, that vain men might be caught in their own replies, and be obliged to confess their ignorance. He never assumed the air of a morose and rigid preceptor, but communicated useful instruction with all the ease and pleasantry of polite conversation.

He was not less distinguished for his modesty than by his wisdom. He professed "to know only this, that he knew nothing." His favorite maxim was, "Whatever is above us, does not concern us." He estimated the value of knowledge by its utility. His great object was to lead men into an acquaintance with themselves. And Cicero says of him, "He was the first who called down philosophy from heaven to earth, and introduced her into the public walks and domestic retirements of men, that she might instruct them concerning life and manners."

Socrates left nothing behind him in writing; but his illustrious pupils, Xenophon and Plato, have, in some measure, supplied the defect. Socrates admitted the existence of a Supreme Divinity, but also believed in the existence of beings who possess a middle station between God and man, to whose immediate agency he ascribed the ordinary phenomena of nature, and whom he supposed to be particularly concerned in the management of human affairs. He admitted the worship of inferior divinities, and declared it to be the duty of every one, in the performance of religious rites, to follow the customs of his country. And Socrates himself, as his last request to one of his friends, begged that he would sacrifice for him a cock to Esculapius. Socrates is represented as maintaining that the human soul is allied to the Divine Being, not by a

participation of essence, but by a similarity of nature. And yet, though he expressed a belief and expectation of immortality, it is evident from the account given of his opinions, that he was not wholly free from uncertainty.

He taught that true felicity is not to be derived from external possessions, but from wisdom, which consists in the knowledge and practice of virtue; that the cultivation of virtuous conduct is necessarily attended with pleasure as well as profit; that the honest man alone is happy; and that it is absurd to attempt to separate things, which are in nature so closely united as virtue and interest.

Of the followers of Socrates we can take notice only of a few. Xenophon was the most respectable, and he preserved many of the conversations of his preceptor, in his *Memorabilia*. His writings are considered perfect models of purity, simplicity, and harmony of language. Æchines devoted himself to the pursuit of wisdom under the tuition of Socrates, and became second only to Demosthenes in eloquence. Simon wrote down many of the conversations which passed in his hearing, in his shop, which Socrates often visited. When Pericles invited Simon to reside with him, under the promise of ample recompense, he refused, saying, "*that he would not sell the liberty of speaking his mind at any price.*" Cebes deserves to be mentioned on account of his beautiful allegory, entitled, "*A Picture of Human Life.*"—At this time, flourished Timon, of Athens, whom Shakspeare has immortalized.

Many sects arose from the school of Socrates, holding opinions essentially different from each other, and deviating widely from their master's doctrine, yet affecting to call themselves Socratic philosophers. The inferior sects in the Ionic succession were the Cyrenaic, the Megaric, and the Eliac or Eretriac. Those of higher celebrity were the Academic and the Cynic, from which latter arose the Peripatetic and the Stoic.

The Cyrenaic sect was founded by Aristippus of Cyrene in Africa. His natural disposition leaned more strongly towards pleasure than was consistent with the strictness of Socratic morals, yet he must be allowed the credit of elegant manners, a thirst after knowledge, ready wit, and an ingenuous temper. His captivating manners, united with a wonderful power of managing the humors of the tyrant Dionysius of Syracuse, gave him the command of the royal favor. Several of his maxims and observations are not unworthy of the Socratic school, though he did not himself adhere to his own precepts.

"If there were no laws, a wise man would live honestly. It is better to be poor than illiterate; for the poor man only wants money, the illiterate want the distinguishing characteristics of human nature. The truly learned are not they who read much, but they who read what is useful. Young people should be taught those things which will be useful to them when they become men."

He agreed with Socrates, in dismissing as wholly unprofitable, all those speculations which have no connection with the conduct of life; and yet, some of his principles, if reduced to practice, would defeat the great end of our present existence. The distinguishing tenets of his system are as follows:

Perceptions alone are certain; of the external objects which produce them, we know nothing. No one can be assured that the perception excited in his mind is similar to that which is excited by the same object in the mind of another person. Happiness consists not in tranquillity or indolence, but in a pleasing agitation of the mind, or active enjoyment. Pleasure is the ultimate object of human pursuit; it is in subserviency to this, that fame, friendship, and even virtue, are to be desired. Nothing is just or unjust by nature, but by custom and law, &c.

After his death, his doctrine was taught by his daughter, Arete. The unsatisfactory and miserable consequences of the doctrine, that pleasure ought to be the great object of human pursuit, was exhibited by one of his disciples, who wrote a book to prove that death is the greatest good. Theodorus, another of his followers, was put to death on the accusation of Atheism. The Cyrenaic sect gradually declined, but was revived in a more philosophic form by the Epicureans.

**THE MEGARIC OR ERISTIC SECT.**—Euclid of Megara (not the Mathematician) was the founder of this sect. From its disputatious character, it was called the Eristic. Debates were conducted among his pupils with violent contention. Euclid was averse to the analogical method of reasoning, and judged that legitimate argumentation consists in deducing fair conclusions from acknowledged premises. He held that there is one supreme good, which he called by the different names of Intelligence, Providence, God; and that evil, considered as an opposite principle to the sovereign good, has no physical existence. When asked his opinion concerning the gods, he replied, "I know only this, that they hate inquisitive persons."

He was succeeded by Eubulides of Miletus, who was a

strenuous opponent of Aristotle, and seized every occasion of censuring his writings and calumniating his character.—(Modern Deists have endeavored to cast a reflection on Revelation, in their remarks on the uncharitableness exhibited by many polemic theologians, whilst they have overlooked the bitter animosity, which characterized almost all the rival sects of philosophy.) He introduced new subtleties in the art of disputation, as, *The Sophism*: if, when you speak the truth, you say you lie—you lie: but you say you lie, when you speak the truth; therefore, in speaking the truth, you lie.—*The Horned*: you have what you have not lost; you have not lost horns; therefore you have horns.

Such sophisms were in high repute, and many books were written upon them. Another disciple of the same school, Diodorus of Caria, was a great adept in this kind of verbal combat, on which many philosophers exercised their ingenuity and mispent their time, and he invented the famous argument against motion. “If any body be moved, it is either moved in the place where it is, or in a place where it is not; but it is not moved in the place where it is, for where it is, it remains; nor is it moved in a place where it is not: therefore there is no such thing as motion.”—Stilpo was another celebrated disciple of the same school. When required to mention the effects which he had lost when Megara was taken, he replied, “I have lost nothing, for no one can take from me my learning, my eloquence, my principles.” He is said to have taught that the highest felicity consists in a mind free from the dominion of passion.

**THE ELIAC SCHOOL**, of which Phædo and Menedemus were the principal ornaments, seems to have adhered closely to the doctrine of Socrates.

**ACADEMIC SECT.**—This School was founded by Plato, the most illustrious of the disciples of Socrates. As long as philosophy continued to be studied among the Greeks and Romans, his doctrines were taught, and his name held in the highest veneration, and even in the present day, he has many followers. He was born in the island of Ægina, and flourished 348 B. C. He attended upon Socrates eight years. Plato began a speech in defence of Socrates before his judges, but was not allowed to proceed. The substance of the conversation of Socrates, which he held after his condemnation, Plato committed to writing in the beautiful dialogue entitled *Phædo*, in which, however, he interweaves his own opinions. He studied astronomy and other sciences in Egypt, and many of the Fathers,

(the early Christian writers,) maintain that he derived much of his philosophy from the Old Testament; a Greek translation of which existed, some suppose, before the Septuagint, B. C. 270. He endeavored to improve his system by incorporating with it the doctrine of Pythagoras, at that time taught in Magna Græcia.

Returning to Athens richly stored with knowledge of various kinds, he made choice of a public grove, called the Academy, and inscribed over the door of his school, "Let no one, who is unacquainted with geometry, enter here." Young men crowded to his school from every quarter; even females, disguised in men's clothes, often attended his lectures. Among the illustrious names which appear in the catalogue of his followers, are Dion, the Syracusan prince, and the orators Hyperides, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, and Isocrates. Several States solicited his assistance in new modelling their respective forms of government. Statues and altars were erected to his memory; and the day of his birth long continued to be celebrated as a festival by his followers.—It is recorded of him, that when he was lifting up his hand to correct his servant for some offence, perceiving himself to be angry, he kept his arm fixed in that position, and said to a friend, who asked him what he was doing, "I am punishing a passionate man." At another time he said to one of his slaves, "I would chastise you, if I were not angry." When told of reports to his disadvantage, he said, "I will live so that none shall believe them." When asked how long he intended to be a scholar, "As long," said he, "as I am not ashamed to grow wiser and better."

Cicero, treating on the subject of language, says, that, "if Jupiter were to speak in Greek, he would borrow the style of Plato." Some of the dialogues are elevated by such sublime and glowing conceptions, are enriched with such copious and splendid diction, and flow in so harmonious a rhythmus, that they may be truly pronounced highly poetical. Most of them are justly admired for their literary merit. The introductions are pertinent and amusing; the course of the debate or conversation is clearly marked; the characters are accurately supported; every speaker has his proper place, language, and manners; the scenery of the conference is painted in lively coloring: and the whole is, with admirable art, adorned and enlivened by those minute embellishments, which render the colloquial mode of writing so peculiarly pleasing. Even upon abstract subjects, whether moral, metaphysical, or mathematical, the language of Plato is often clear as the running stream,



and in simplicity and sweetness vies with the humble violet which perfumes the vale. In these beautiful parts of his works, it has been conjectured, that Socrates and Lysias were his models. At other times, however, we find him swelling into the turgid style.

Plato often adopts obscure language, and purposely throws a veil of obscurity over his doctrines. He says, "It is a difficult thing to discover, and it would be impious to expose to vulgar understandings, the nature of the Creator of the universe." "It would be to no purpose to lay open to mankind at large the doctrines of philosophy, which are adapted only to the comprehension of a few, who, from imperfect hints, are capable of conceiving their full import." This concealed method he probably adopted from a regard to his personal safety, having the fate of Socrates before his eyes.

Matter, according to Plato, is an eternal and infinite principle, from its nature it resists the will of the supreme Artificer, so that he cannot perfectly execute his designs, and this is the cause of the mixture of good and evil, which is found in the material world. The principle opposite to matter is God, who is the Supreme Intelligence, incorporeal, without beginning, end, or change, and capable of being perceived only by the mind. By the expression, "Ideas existing in the Reason of God," he meant patterns or archetypes, subsisting by themselves as real beings in the Divine Reason, as in their original and eternal region, and issuing thence to give form to sensible things, and to become objects of contemplation and science to rational beings. The Reason of God comprehends exemplars of all things, and this reason is one of the primary causes of things. Plutarch says, that, "Plato supposed three principles, God, Matter, and Idea." The Divine Reason Plato speaks of, as having always existed, and as the divine principle, which established the order of the world. He appears to have conceived of this principle, as distinct not merely from matter, but from the efficient cause, and as eternally containing within itself Ideas or intelligible forms, which, flowing from the fountain of the Divine Essence, have in themselves a real existence, and which, in the formation of the visible world, were, by the energy of the efficient cause, united to matter to produce sensible bodies. These Ideas Plato defines to be the peculiar natures of things, or essences as such, and asserts that they always remain the same, without beginning or end.

It was another doctrine in the Platonic system, that the Deity formed the material world after a perfect archetype,

which had eternally subsisted in his Reason, and endued it with a soul.

He appears to have taught, that the soul of man is derived by emanation from God; but that this emanation was not immediate, but through the intervention of the soul of the world, which was itself debased by some material admixture. When God formed the universe, he separated from the soul of the world inferior souls, equal in number to the stars, and assigned to each its proper celestial abode; but that these souls were sent down to the earth into human bodies, as into a sepulchre or prison; and that the soul can be prepared to return to its original habitation by disengaging itself from animal passions, and rising above sensible objects to the contemplation of the world of intelligence.

His arguments for the immutability of the soul are as follows: In nature, all things terminate in their contraries; the state of sleep terminates in that of waking; and the reverse: so life ends in death, and death in life. The soul is a simple indivisible substance, and therefore incapable of dissolution, or corruption. The objects to which it naturally adheres are spiritual and incorruptible; therefore its nature is so. All our knowledge is acquired by the reminiscence of ideas contemplated in a prior state: as the soul, therefore, must have existed before this life, it is probable that it will continue to exist after it. Life being the conjunction of the soul with the body, death is nothing more than their separation. Whatever is the principle of motion is incapable of destruction. Such is the substance of the arguments for the immortality of the soul, contained in the celebrated dialogue of the Phædo. It is happy for mankind, that their belief of this momentous doctrine rests upon firmer grounds than such futile reasonings. We cannot believe that they brought conviction to his own mind, or served any other purpose than to display his ingenuity and eloquence. A celebrated writer of antiquity acknowledges, that after he had read Plato's celebrated work, his mind was perplexed with all its former uncertainty. If the arguments of Plato were the only evidence of our immortality, we should close the book in despair; and be disposed to give vent to our feelings in the expression of the sentiments of a beautiful Greek poet.

"Alas! the tender herbs and flow'ry tribes,  
Tho' crush'd by winter's unrelenting hand,  
Revive and rise, when vernal zephyrs call;  
But we, the brave, the mighty, and the wise,

Bloom, flourish, fade, and fall; and then succeeds  
 A long, long, sient, dark, oblivious sleep,  
 A sleep, which no propitious power dispels,  
 Nor changing seasons, nor revolving years."

Although many just and sublime sentiments on moral subjects are to be found in the writings of Plato, his ethical doctrine is very imperfect, and often extravagant and absurd.

THE OLD, THE MIDDLE, AND THE NEW ACADEMY.—The Old Academy consisted of those who taught the doctrine of Plato without mixture or corruption. The first of these was Speusippus, who, contrary to the practice of his master, required from his pupils a stated gratuity. He is said to have been of a violent temper, fond of pleasure, and exceedingly avaricious. He wrote many works, that were highly valued by Aristotle, but they are all lost. He was succeeded by Xenocrates, who was born B. C. 400. His temper was gloomy, his aspect severe, and his manners little tinged with urbanity. But so eminent was his reputation for integrity, that when called upon to give evidence in a judicial transaction, the judges unanimously agreed, that his simple asseveration should be taken, as a public testimony to his merit. And Philip, king of Macedon, said, "that he was the only one whose friendship he had not been able to purchase." And, when sent to Antipater, for the redemption of several Athenian captives, he declined the invitation of the prince to sit down with him to supper, in the words of Ulysses to Circe :

"What man, whose bosom burns with gen'rous worth,  
 His friends enthralled and banish'd from his sight,  
 Would taste a selfish, solitary joy."

He was discreet in the use of his time, and *carefully allotted a certain portion of each day to its proper business*. He was so great an admirer of the mathematical sciences, and was so fully convinced of their utility, that when a young man, who was unacquainted with geometry and astronomy, desired admission into the Academy, he refused his request, saying, he was not yet possessed of the handles of philosophy.

He made *unity and diversity* principles in nature, or gods, the former of whom he represented as the father and the latter as the mother of the universe. He taught that the heavens are divine, and the stars celestial gods; and that besides these divinities there are terrestrial dæmons of a middle order between the gods and man.

Crantor is the last celebrated name in the Old Academy, of whom Horace says,

"Who better taught fair virtue's sacred rules,  
Than Crantor or Cratippus in the schools."

The first preceptor of the Middle Academy, which introduced various innovations in the Platonic system, was Arcesilaus, who was early initiated in mathematical science and polite literature. With extensive learning, sweetness of temper, and elegance of manners, he united many moral qualities. But his virtues were contaminated by many vices.

He thought it disgraceful to assent to any proposition, the truth of which is not fully established, and maintained that in all questions, opposite opinions may be supported by arguments of equal weight. He disputed against the testimony of the senses, and the authority of reason; but at the same time acknowledged that they are capable of furnishing probable opinions sufficient for the conduct of life. His doctrine of uncertainty alarming the general body of philosophers, and even the governors of the State, Carneades, one of the disciples of this school, thought it expedient to relinquish, in words at least, some of the more obnoxious tenets of Arcesilaus. From this period, the Platonic school took the appellation of the New Academy. Carneades was a native of Cyrene in Africa, and was born 214 B. C. With Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus the Peripatetic, he was sent on an embassy from Athens to Rome. The three philosophers gave the Roman people many specimens of Grecian learning and eloquence. Carneades having harangued with great variety of thought, and copiousness of diction, in praise of justice before Cato the Censor; on the following day, to establish his doctrine of the uncertainty of human knowledge, he undertook to refute all his former arguments. Cato persuaded the Senate to send the philosophers back without delay. As Carneades grew old, he discovered strong apprehensions of dying, and frequently lamented, that the same nature which composed the human frame could dissolve it.

He maintained that the senses, the understanding, and the imagination frequently deceive us, and therefore cannot be infallible judges of truth. The impressions which we receive, he called Phantasies or Images, and that they do not always correspond to the real nature of things, and consequently afford no certain criterion of truth. The chief point of difference between the Middle and New Academy, was, that the latter

taught the doctrine of uncertainty in less exceptionable terms than the former. His immediate successor, Clitomachus, confessed that he was never able to discover his master's real tenets.

Clitomachus was a native of Carthage, and professed the doctrine of suspension of assent, as it had been taught by his masters. Cicero relates, that he wrote four hundred books on philosophical subjects. At an advanced age, he was seized with a lethargy. Recovering in some measure the use of his faculties, he said, "The love of life shall deceive me no longer;" and laid violent hands upon himself.—Philo of Larissa, the successor of Clitomachus, took refuge at Rome, during the Mithridatic war, and Cicero attended his lectures. He held that truth is comprehensible, but not the human faculties. Charmidas, the companion of Philo, is celebrated for the compass and fidelity of his memory, and for his moral wisdom.

The last preceptor of the Platonic school in Greece was Antiochus of Ascalon. He attempted to reconcile the tenets of the different sects. He resigned the Academic chair B. C. 80. After his time the professors of the Academic philosophy were dispersed by the tumults of war, and the school itself was transferred to Rome.

**ARISTOTLE AND THE PERIPATETIC SECT.**—Aristotle was a native of Stagyra, a town of Thrace, and was born 384 B. C. He devoted himself to the study of philosophy in the school of Plato, who used to call him the Mind of the school. He is said to have been the first person who formed a library. When Alexander was in his fifteenth year, he took up his residence in the court of Philip, and became the tutor of his son. Alexander, during his Asiatic expedition, employed several thousand persons to collect animals of various kinds, for the use of Aristotle, who wrote fifty volumes on the history of animated nature, only ten of which are now extant. Callisthenes, the nephew of the philosopher, who accompanied the hero, incurred his displeasure by the freedom with which he censured his conduct, and the aversion was transferred to Aristotle. Aristotle, on his return to Athens, founded a school in the Lyceum, where he held daily conversations on subjects of philosophy with those who attended him, walking as he discoursed; whence his followers were called Peripatetics. This philosopher had his public (exoteric) and his secret (esoteric) doctrine; and he divided his audience into two classes. He continued his school twelve years, but being at length persecuted by the priesthood, and unwilling, he said, "to give the

Athenians an opportunity of committing a second offence against philosophy," (alluding to the fate of Socrates,) he retired to Chalcis, where he remained till his death. He was twice married. His person was slender, he had small eyes, and a shrill voice; and endeavored to supply the defects of his natural form, by an attention to dress, and commonly appeared in a costly habit, with his beard shaven, and his hair cut, and with rings upon his fingers.

Concerning his character, nothing can be more contradictory than the accounts of different writers. Perhaps if weighed in the equal balance of historical truth, it will be found, that neither were his virtues of that exalted kind which command admiration, nor his faults so highly criminal as not to admit of some apology. To him has been commonly ascribed the celebrated apothegm — "*Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, magis tamen amica Veritas,*" (I respect Plato, and I respect Socrates, but I respect Truth still more.)

It must be owned, that he is frequently deserving of censure, for giving a partial and unfair representation of the opinions of his predecessors in philosophy, that he might the more easily refute them; and that he seems to have made it the principal object of his extensive reading, to depreciate the wisdom of all preceding ages. In short, whilst in point of genius we rank Aristotle in the first class of men, and whilst we ascribe to him every attainment which, at the period in which he lived, indefatigable industry, united with superior abilities, could reach, we must add, that his reputation in philosophy is in some measure tarnished by a too daring spirit of contradiction and innovation; and in morals, by an artful conformity to the manners of the age in which he lived.

The works which are at present generally received under his name, may be classed under the heads of Logic, Physics, Metaphysics, Mathematics, Ethics, Rhetoric, and Poetry.—Most of the subjects on which he treats are very abstruse, and discussed in a very concise and obscure style. When Alexander complained that he had divulged, in his writings, his esoteric doctrines, the philosopher replied, that they were published, and not published.—Ambitious to distinguish himself above all other philosophers, his object was to erect his own edifice upon the ruin of every other structure. As Lord Bacon has remarked, "Like a Turkish despot, he thought he could not reign secure, unless all his brethren were slain."

Aristotle is particularly distinguished by treatises on Logic. If Aristotle was not the first, who reduced logic to a system, he

was the most eminent of logicians. He claims the invention of the whole theory of syllogisms. He exhibited them to view in every shape. The sum of his doctrine concerning Logic is as follows: The end of logic is the discovery of truth, either probable or certain. Analytics investigate the truth by incontrovertible demonstrations. Dialectics establish opinions by probable arguments. Logic, whether analytic or dialectic, searches after truth by means of syllogisms. Syllogisms consist of propositions; and propositions of simple terms. Terms are of three kinds; homonymous, where a common word is applied to different things; synonymous, or univocal, where the meaning of the word, and the definition coincide; and paronymous, where the word only varies in case and termination. Porphyry wrote an introduction to his works, in which he treats of the five predicables, genus, species, difference, property, and accident. (Comparing together a number of particular ideas, we observe some properties which they possess in common; to this collection of properties we assign a name, which denotes a *species*, as man, horse, &c. Comparing various species, we find some particulars in which they agree. To these we annex a name, and call it a *genus*; thus horse, dog, &c., agree in the property of being living creatures, with four feet. Hence we form the genus quadruped. *Animal* is a superior genus, of which man, bird, &c., are species. *Being*, as common to all things which exist, genus generalissimum.)

Every proposition consists of a Subject, a Predicate, and a Copula; or expresses the thing concerning which the assertion is made, the accident which is asserted or predicated of it, and the assertion itself. From propositions are formed Syllogisms, in which, from given premises, certain conclusions are drawn. A syllogism consists of three propositions, of which the two former are the premises, and the third the conclusion, and in which three terms are variously arranged. These three terms are called the Major, the Minor, and the Middle Term. The predicate of the conclusion, is called the Major Term, the Subject the Minor, and both together the Extremes. The Middle Term is that which is introduced to show the connection between the Major and the Minor, and thus bring out the conclusion. The Matter of a syllogism is, the proposition of which it consists; the Form is, the framing and disposing of these according to Figure and Mode. Figure is the proper disposition of the Middle Term. Mode is the arrangement of the propositions according to quantity and quality;

that is, as they are universal or particular, affirmative or negative. (In the following syllogism: "Truth is venerable: Christianity is truth; therefore, Christianity is venerable"—Christianity, venerable, and truth, are the terms of the syllogism. Christianity and venerable, are the extremes, and truth the middle term. Venerable, is the major; and Christianity, the minor extreme. Truth is venerable, Christianity is truth, are the premises. Therefore, Christianity is venerable, is the conclusion. Truth is venerable, is the major proposition. Christianity is truth, is the minor proposition, or the assumption.)

The figures of Syllogisms are three; in the First, the middle term is the subject of the major proposition, and the predicate of the minor. It contains four modes which are conclusive. In the Second, the middle term is the predicate of both the extremes; it has also four conclusive modes. In the Third, the middle term is the subject of both the extremes; it has six modes. Every syllogism is constituted of some one of those three figures; but the first is the most perfect. (The sentence, "God is omnipotent," is a proposition, in which *God* is the subject; *omnipotent* the predicate; and *is*, the copula.—Syllogism of the first figure. "Every bad man is miserable: all tyrants are bad men; therefore, all tyrants are miserable."—Syllogism of the second figure. "No deceiver is to be credited: every good historian is to be credited; therefore, no good historian is a deceiver."—Syllogism of the third figure. "All honest men are beloved: all honest men have faults; therefore, some who have faults are beloved.")

(Of what use are Syllogisms? "I answer," says Locke, "their chief and main use is in the schools, where men are allowed, without shame, to deny the agreement of ideas, that do manifestly agree; or out of the schools to those, who from thence have learned without shame, to deny the connexion of ideas, which even to themselves is visible. But to an ingenuous searcher after truth, who has no other aim but to find it, there is no need of any such form, to force the allowing of the inference." "To shorten the process of arriving at truth," says Dr. T. Brown, "it forces us to use, in every case, three propositions instead of two, which nature directs us to use. The invention and formal statement of a major proposition, in every case, serve only to retard the progress of discovery, not to quicken it, or render it in the slightest degree more sure." "God has not been so sparing to men," says Locke, "as to make them barely two legged animals, and left it to Aristotle



to make them rational. Indeed the most convincing proof of their own independent rationality is, that, with the incumbrance of the logical system of the schools, which had held the minds of men in intellectual bondage for more than two thousand years, they were able to shake this off, and become reasoners in the true and noble sense of that term, by abandoning the art which made them only disputants." The powers of the mind were, by the system introduced by Aristotle, exhausted in grave trifling and solemn folly. Men's minds were in an endless ferment "with oppositions of science falsely so called, doting about questions and strifes of words, whence arose envy, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth." The Apostle Paul was a witness of all this, and said, "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit." Little was talked of but intention and remission, proportion and degree, infinity, formality, quiddity, individuality. "After men," observes Dr. Reid in his *Analysis of Aristotle's Logic*, "had labored in the search of truth near two thousand years by the help of syllogisms, Lord Bacon proposed the method of *induction*. The art of syllogism produced numberless disputes, and numberless sects, who fought against each other with much animosity, without gaining or losing ground, but did nothing considerable for the benefit of human life.")

(*Induction* literally means *a bringing in*: the plan it unfolds is that of investigating nature, and inquiring after truth, not by reasoning upon mere conjectures about nature's laws and properties, but by bringing together carefully and patiently a variety of particular facts and instances; viewing these in all possible lights, and drawing, from a comparison of the whole, some general principle or truth that applies to all. This process of inquiry is slow, but it is the only sure method of becoming acquainted with the powers of nature: and it is to the prosecution of this mode of investigation, that the moderns owe their great superiority over the ancients in physical science.)

(When Induction is complete, the evidence is satisfactory; but as this can seldom be attained, philosophers are constrained to have recourse to arguments from Analogy, or the similitude of relations. There is an analogy between the fin of a fish and the wing of a bird; the fin bearing the same relation to the water which the wing does to the air. Analogy argues from proportionable causes to proportionable effects, and from similarity of circumstances to similarity of consequences. Bishop

Butler, in his *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed*, has made a just and happy use of this mode of reasoning. From *Analogy* it is inferred that the planets are inhabited; that gravitation is a universal property of matter; and on the unity and harmony of design every where conspicuous in the universe, is founded the most solid argument which reason furnishes for the unity of God.)

(*Method* is of two kinds: the Analytic and the Synthetic. Analytic Method resolves a complex idea into its component principles; Synthetic Method, begins with simple and self-evident principles, and advances gradually to remote and complex propositions. He that learns the structure of any machine, for instance, a watch, by taking it to pieces, acquires his knowledge by the Analytic Method: he that attains the same information by seeing the artist combine the several parts, so as to form a complete whole, is instructed synthetically.)

If much learning had not made this philosopher mad, it had, at least, thrown his mind into a chaos of speculation, where he was in wandering mazes lost—"vain wisdom all, and false philosophy." He maintained that the universe had existed from all eternity, and that God was connected with a world already formed by the chain of necessity; that, eternally employed in the contemplation of his own nature, he observes nothing, he cares for nothing beyond himself; residing in the first sphere, he possesses neither immensity nor omnipresence: far removed from the inferior parts of the universe, he is not even a spectator of what is passing among the inhabitants, and therefore cannot be a proper object of worship or reverence. Nothing is to be met with in the writings of Aristotle, which determines whether he thought the soul of man mortal, or immortal; but the former appears most probable.

His writings on moral philosophy contain many useful precepts and just observations, but they are by no means to be considered as a perfect code of morals, adapted to promote a genuine integrity, and simplicity of manners.

Of the philosophy of Aristotle, it may be asserted, that it is rather the philosophy of words than of things; and that the study of his writings tends more to perplex the understanding with subtle distinctions, than to enlighten it with real knowledge.

Theophrastus was nominated by Aristotle as his successor in the school of the Lyceum, when he withdrew to Chalcis. He had about 2,000 scholars. A decree was obtained making it a capital offence to open a public school without an express

license from the Senate. But the next year, the author of this persecution was fined, and the philosophers returned to Athens. Theophrastus was highly celebrated for his industry, learning, and eloquence, and is said to have twice freed his country from the oppression of tyrants. Though he lived to the advanced age of eighty-five, he complained that nature had given long life to stags and crows, and denied it to man; and his last advice to his disciples was, that, since it is the lot of man to die as soon as he begins to live, they would take more pains to enjoy life as it passes, than to acquire posthumous fame. In several particulars, he deviated from the doctrine of his master. He maintained that all things are not produced from contraries, but some from contraries, some from simple causes, and some from simple energy. The most valuable of his moral apophthegms is the following: "Respect yourself, and you will never have reason to be ashamed before others."

Theophrastus was succeeded by Strato, who is said to have departed essentially from the system of Aristotle; but perhaps it would be more correct to say, that he carried his principles to their legitimate consequences. He asserted that the world arose from a principle innate in matter, originally excited by accident, and since continuing to act, according the peculiar qualities of natural bodies; thus he excluded, at least indirectly, the doctrine of the existence of a Supreme Being. He taught that the seat of the soul is in the middle of the brain, that it acts only by means of the senses.

Demetrius Phalereus was an illustrious ornament of the Peripatetic school. Having possessed supreme power in Athens for ten years, and rendered many essential services, he was condemned, during his absence from the city, to forfeit his life. He fled to Egypt, and, unable to support the repeated misfortunes he met with, put an end to his life by the bite of an asp. Josephus, Philo, and others assert, that it was, by the advice of Demetrius, who they say was librarian to Ptolemy Philadelphus, that this prince gave orders for a version of the Old Testament from the Hebrew into the Greek language, a version called the Septuagint. Seventy persons are said to have been engaged; but this account is now rejected.

**THE CYNIC SECT.**—Renouncing all subtle disquisitions, and every scientific pursuit, this sect was confined to the study and illustration of the precepts of morality; but the severity, the moroseness, and scurrillity of many of the Cynics, gradually brought the whole order into disesteem and contempt.

Antisthenes chose for his school a public place of exercise without the walls of the city of Athens. In order to accommodate his manners to his doctrine, he wore no other garment than a coarse cloak, suffered his beard to grow, and carried a wallet and staff like a wandering beggar. He expressed the utmost contempt for pleasure. The moroseness of his temper and the gloomy cast of his mind, rendered him troublesome to his friends, and an object of ridicule to his enemies. In his last illness he was fretful and impatient; tired of life, yet loth to die. When Diogenes, at that time, asked him, whether he needed a friend, Antisthenes replied, "Where is the friend that can free me from my pain?" Diogenes presented him with a dagger, saying, "Let this free you;" but Antisthenes replied, "I wish to be freed from my pain, not from my life." Socrates once said to him, "Why ostentatious? Through your rags I see your vanity."

The sum of the moral doctrine of the Cynic sect is this: Virtue alone is a sufficient foundation for a happy life. Wisdom and virtue are the same. A wise man will always be contented with his condition, and will live rather according to the precepts of virtue, than according to the laws or customs of his country. Wisdom is a secure and impregnable fortress; virtue, armor which cannot be taken away. Virtue is the only bond of friendship.

The following sayings are ascribed to Antisthenes: As rust consumes iron, so doth envy consume the heart of man. That State is hastening to ruin, in which no difference is made between good and bad men. The harmony of brethren is a stronger defence than a wall of brass. A wise man converses with the wicked, as a physician with the sick, not to catch the disease, but to cure it. A philosopher gains at least one thing from his manner of life, a power of conversing with himself. The most necessary part of learning is, to unlearn our errors. *The man who is afraid of another, whatever he may think of himself, is a slave.*

Diogenes perfectly adopted the principles and character of Antisthenes. In his old age, being taken by pirates, and exposed to sale in the public market, he was asked what he could do. He replied, "I can govern men, therefore sell me to one who wants a master." And he said to his purchaser, "I can be more useful to you as your physician, than as your slave." His liberty was given to him, and he undertook the education of the children of his benefactor. He made use of

sententious maxims, written in verse by himself and others, which he required his pupils to commit to memory.

Diogenes was a philosopher of a penetrating genius, not unacquainted with learning, and deeply read in the knowledge of mankind. He, moreover, possessed a firm and lofty mind, superior to the intrigues of fortune, hardy in suffering, and incapable of fear. Contented with a little, and possessing within himself treasures sufficient for his own happiness, he despised the luxuries of the age. From an earnest desire to correct and improve the public manners, he censured reigning follies and vices with a steady confidence, which sometimes degenerated into severity. He spared neither the rich nor the powerful; and even ventured to ridicule the religious superstitions of the age. This freedom gave great offence to many, and in consequence was made the subject of ludicrous and disgraceful calumny; and many improbable stories to his disadvantage are recorded. But he cannot be absolved from the accusation of gross rudeness, of a singular ruggedness of manners, of bitter scurrility, and of philosophical pride. He died in the ninetieth year of his age. A column of marble, terminated by the figure of a dog, was raised over his tomb.

The chief heads of his moral doctrine may be thus briefly stated: Virtue of mind, as well as strength of body, is chiefly to be acquired by exercise and habit. Nothing can be accomplished without labor, and every thing may be accomplished with it. Even the contempt of pleasure may, by the force of habit become pleasant. The ranks of society originate from the vices and follies of mankind, and are therefore to be despised. The end of philosophy is to subdue the passions, and prepare men for every condition of life.

To a friend, who advised him, in his old age, to indulge himself, he said, "Would you have me quit the race, when I have almost reached the goal." Seeing a boy drink water out of the hollow of his hand, he threw away his cup, saying "he would carry no superfluities about him." To one that reviled him, he said, "No one will believe you when you speak ill of me, any more than they would me, if I were to speak well of you." Would you be revenged upon your enemy, said Diogenes, be virtuous, that he may have nothing to say against you.

After Diogenes, the most distinguished professor of the Cynic philosophy was Crates, a Theban. He was, however, cheerful and facetious. His influence in private fami-

lies is said to have been great in correcting the luxuries and vices at that time prevalent in Athens.

Metrocles, the brother of Hipparchia, the celebrated wife of Crates, became so dissatisfied with the world, that in his old age, he strangled himself. Menedemus, dressed in a black cloak, with an Arcadian cap on his head, on which were drawn the twelve signs of the Zodiac; with tragic buskins on his legs, with a long beard, and with a staff in his hand, went about saying he was a spirit, returned from the infernal regions to admonish the world.

**THE STOIC SECT.**—This sect was a branch from the Cynic, and, as far as respected morals, differed from it in words more than in reality. Avoiding the offensive singularities of the Cynics, it rose to great distinction among the Grecians and Romans.

Zeno, the founder of this sect, was a native of Cittius, of Cyprus. He came to Athens, and attended the schools of all the celebrated philosophers. His inquisitive turn of mind would not allow him to neglect scientific inquiries. Having attended on many eminent preceptors, he compiled out of their various tenets, a heterogeneous system, on the credit of which he assumed to himself the title of the founder of a new sect.

In his person, Zeno was tall and slender; his aspect was severe, and his brow contracted. His constitution was feeble, but he preserved his health by great abstemiousness. The supplies of his table consisted of figs, bread, and honey. So great was his modesty, that he seldom chose to mingle with a crowd, or wished for the company of more than two or three friends at once. He showed as much respect to the poor as to the rich; and conversed freely with persons of the humblest occupations. He had only one servant.

But he did not escape the enmity of rival sects, many of which attacked him with great bitterness. He lived to the extreme age of ninety-eight, and at last, in consequence of an accident, voluntarily put an end to his own life.

The idle quibbles, jejune reasoning, and imposing sophism, of the dialectic philosophers, found their way into the Porch. At this time, a fondness for subtle disputations so generally prevailed in Greece, that excellence in the arts of reasoning, quibbling, and sophistry was a sure path to fame. Hence it was that the Stoics engaged with so much vehemence in verbal contests, and substituted vague and ill-defined terms in the room of accurate conceptions. Their doctrine of moral wisdom is an ostentatious display of words, in which little regard

was paid to nature and reason. It professed to raise human nature to a degree of perfection before unknown; but its real effect was, merely to amuse the ear, and captivate the fancy with fictions which can never be realized. Zeno and his followers, in the warmth of controversy with the Epicureans, carried their principles to the utmost extremity, and were led to express themselves with greater confidence than they would otherwise have done. This is doubtless the reason, that so many extravagant notions were inculcated by the Stoics; and that, in consequence, they exposed themselves to the ridicule of their opponents by the unavoidable inconsistency between their words and their actions. A system of philosophy, which attempts to raise men above their nature, must commonly produce, either wretched fanatics, or artful hypocrites.

Care should be taken not to judge of the doctrine of the Stoics from words and sentiments, detached from the general system; and also not to confound the doctrines of Zeno with the glosses and improvements of the later Stoics after the birth of Christ.

According to this sect, God and matter are alike underived and eternal; and God is the former of the universe in no other sense, than as he has been the necessary efficient cause, by which motion and form have been impressed upon matter. The agency of the Deity is, according to the Stoics, nothing more than the active motion of a celestial ether or fire, possessed of intelligence, which, at first, gave form to the shapeless mass of gross matter; and being always essentially united to the visible world, by the same necessary agency, preserves its order and harmony. The Stoic idea of a providence is not that of an infinitely wise and good Being, wholly independent of matter, freely directing and governing all things, but that of a necessary chain of causes and effects, arising from the action of a power, which is itself a part of the machine which it regulates, and which equally with that machine, is subject to the immutable law of necessity. Providence, in the Stoic creed, is only another name for absolute necessity or fate, to which God and matter, or the universe, which consists of both, is immutably subject.

The universe is, according to Zeno, a sentient and animated being. Portions of the ethereal soul being distributed throughout all parts of the universe, hence arise, in the system of the Stoics, inferior gods or dæmons, with which all nature is peopled; but none of them were deemed to be immortal, but a period, it was thought, would arrive, when they would return

to the first celestial fire. Evil, the Stoics imagined, was owing to the defective nature of matter, which could not be changed.

The sun they represented as a sphere larger than the earth, consisting of fire of the purest kind, as an animated being, and the first of the derived divinities; the stars, too, as of the same kind, fiery bodies endued with perception and intelligence, and therefore to be ranked among the gods; and they were thought to be nourished by exhalations from the seas and rivers. The earth is on this system, the main support of nature, like the bones of an animated body, and with its waters forms a globe which is the centre of the world, and always remains immovable. They believed in a general conflagration of the universe, when men, heroes, dæmons, and gods, would perish together; but that, after a time, it would be renewed, and again be subject to degeneracy and corruption.

The soul of man, according to the Stoics, is a spark of divine fire. Some maintained, that as soon as the soul is released from the body, it returns to the soul of the world, or is lost in the universal principle of fire. Some asserted that it would be extinguished. But others held that in a fated renovation of the universe, each individual would return to its former body, but, at last, would be lost in the Deity.

The moral system of the Stoics may, with some great exceptions, be regarded as the highest effort of unassisted reason to deduce a rule of life from the light of Nature. Many splendid passages may be selected from their works, but many of the precepts are paradoxical, many are highly inflated with the spirit of pride, with the opposition of science, and many are utterly unsuited to the nature of man. To the Stoical wise man, all events were perfectly equal. The highest prosperity and the deepest adversity are perfectly indifferent to him. Whatever he does under the influence of his principles is equally perfect. When he stretches out his finger, to give an example which they commonly made use of, he performs an action in every respect as meritorious, as worthy of praise and admiration, as when he lays down his life for the service of his country. As all the actions of the wise man were perfectly and equally perfect; so all those of the man who had not arrived at this supreme wisdom, were faulty, and equally faulty. As one truth, they said, could not be more true, nor one falsehood more false than another, so an honorable action could not be more honorable, nor a shameful one more shameful than another. As in shooting at a mark, the man who missed it by an



inch had equally missed it with him, who had done so by a hundred yards; so the man who, in what to us appears the most insignificant action, had acted improperly and without a sufficient reason, was equally faulty with him who had done so in what to us appears, the most important; the man who has killed a bird, for example, improperly, with him who had murdered his father.

The most complete contentment with every event which the current of human affairs could possibly cast up, is held forth as the fundamental doctrine of the proud system of Stoicism; and yet, it is expressly stated that a wise man may justly and reasonably withdraw from life, whenever he finds it expedient, i. e., that he may show his discontent and dissatisfaction, his want of resignation and obedience, by an act which evinces that he shrinks from the trials imposed upon him, and is unwilling to continue in the situation in which Providence has placed him. The whole system of Stoicism is based on pride; it is a system of extravagant folly, and not accommodated to the wants, weaknesses, and infirmities of human nature. The piety which it teaches is submission to irresistible fate. The self-command which it enjoins, annihilates the best affections of the human heart.

This philosophy teaches us to interest ourselves earnestly and anxiously in no events, external to the good of our own minds, to the propriety of our own choosing and rejecting; except in those which concern a department where we neither have, nor ought to have, any sort of management or direction, the department of the great Superintendent of the universe. By the perfect apathy which it prescribes to us, by endeavoring, not merely to moderate, but to eradicate all our private, partial, and social affections, by suffering us to feel for whatever can befall ourselves, our friends, our country, not even the sympathetic and reduced passions of the impartial spectator, it endeavors to render us altogether indifferent and unconcerned in the success and miscarriage of every thing which nature has prescribed to us as the proper business and occupation of our lives.

We must conclude, that the Ethics of Zeno and his followers deviated, as a system, from the principles of nature, and had a tendency to encourage artificial characters, and to encourage moral affectation and hypocrisy.

After the death of Zeno, his school was continued by Cleanthes of Assos in Lydia. He was for many years so poor, that he was obliged to write the heads of his master's lectures

upon shells and bones, for want of money to buy paper. But he persevered in the study of philosophy, and remained a pupil of Zeno nineteen years. His natural faculties were slow, but resolution and perseverance enabled him to overcome every difficulty. Being reproved for his timidity, he replied, "It is to this quality I owe my innocence." "Do nothing," he said, "which will occasion pain or grief to yourself and others." He lived to extreme old age much respected, and the Roman Senate ordered a statue to be erected in honor of him at Assos.

Chrysippus was a celebrated disciple of Cleanthes. He was indefatigably industrious, and seldom suffered a day to pass without writing 500 lines. He spent the greatest part of his life in disputation, and often said to his preceptor, "Give me doctrines, and I will find arguments to support them." He was particularly remarkable for his skill in the arts of sophistry, and his frequent use of the figure sorites: (a syllogism which consists in a series of propositions, in which the predicate of the first becomes the subject of the second, and so on, till, in the conclusion, the subject of the first is joined with the predicate of the last.) He maintained, that the inferior deities, which were very numerous, are portions of the divine fire with which all nature is animated, and that they will, in the general conflagration of the universe, return to the source from which they were originally derived, till a general renovation shall take place.

Panætius was an intimate acquaintance of several eminent Romans, particularly Scipio and Lælius. He disliked the Stoic doctrine of apathy, and seems to have rejected the immortality of the soul. Posidonius, a native of Apama in Syria, was the last of that series of Stoics which belongs to the history of the Greek philosophy. He taught with so much reputation at Rhodes, that Pompey the Great went thither to attend his lectures. The hero, who had subdued the eastern and western world, paid homage to philosophy, by lowering the fasces at the gate of Posidonius. He attended Marcellus to Rome.

THE ITALIC OR PYTHAGORIC SECT. — Pherecydes, who flourished 600 B. C., was the first preceptor of Pythagoras, who was a native of the island of Samos. Pythagoras passed twenty-two years in Egypt, and was by order of the king admitted to a knowledge of the sacred mysteries. He afterwards went into Magna Grecia, and taught his doctrine in many cities of Italy. He pretended to supernatural powers,

and persuaded his hearers that he had received his doctrine from heaven. He did not commit his system to writing. He held public assemblies in which he delivered moral discourses; and he had private lectures, at which he communicated his esoteric doctrines to those disciples, who had submitted to a long course of instruction into all the mysteries of his system. He was very particular in his examination of those who wished to become his disciples. Their features, their manner of conversing, laughing, keeping silence, their companions, the manner in which they passed their leisure moments, the incidents which appeared to excite the strongest emotion of joy and sorrow, the way in which they behaved towards their parents and friends, were all considered by him; and he admitted only those who could stand the test of his examination. After they were received, they had to undergo a long and painful course of probation. To teach them humility and industry, he exposed them for three years to a continued course of contradiction, ridicule, and contempt, among their fellows. He deprived them of all command over their own property. That he might give his disciples a habit of entire docility, he enjoined upon them, from their first admission, a term of silence from two to five years. In this stage of tuition, they were not favored with a sight of their master, but heard him from behind a curtain; and every thing which they heard, they were bound to receive as unquestionable truths.

The members of the esoteric school received a full explanation of his doctrines; but to others they were delivered in brief precepts and dogmas, under the concealment of symbols. The brethren of the college at Crotona, who were about six hundred in number, lived together as one family. The whole business of the society was conducted with perfect regularity. Every day was begun with a distinct deliberation upon the manner in which it should be spent, and concluded with a careful retrospect of the events which had occurred, and the business which had been transacted. They rose before the sun, that they might pay him homage; after which they repeated select verses from Homer, and other poets, and made use of music, both vocal and instrumental, to enliven their spirits, and fit them for the duties of the day. They then employed several hours in the study of science. These were succeeded by an interval of leisure, which was commonly spent in a solitary walk for the purpose of contemplation. The next portion of the day was allotted to conversation. The hour immediately before dinner was filled up with various

kinds of athletic exercises. Their dinner consisted chiefly of bread, honey, and water; the initiated were not allowed wine. The remainder of the day was devoted to civil and domestic affairs.

He maintained that the first step towards wisdom is the study of mathematics; that arithmetic is the noblest science; that by music the mind was raised above the dominion of the passions, and inured to contemplation, that by its means diseases both bodily and mental might be cured. He believed the earth to be a sphere, the planets to be inhabited, and it has been inferred, that he possessed the true idea of the solar system, which was revived by Copernicus, and established by Newton. Moral philosophy, according to Aristotle, was first taught by Pythagoras. The following maxims and precepts are ascribed to him: Young persons should be inured to subjection, that they may always find it easy to submit to the authority of reason. Let them be conducted into the best course of life, and habit will soon render it the most pleasant. Silence is better than idle words. *Do what you judge to be right, whatever the multitude may think of you;* if you despise their praise, despise also their censure. It is inconsistent with fortitude to relinquish the station appointed by the Supreme Lord, before we obtain his permission. Sobriety is the strength of the soul, for it preserves its reason unclouded by passion. No man ought to be esteemed free, who has not the perfect command of himself. Drunkenness is a temporary phrensy. The desire of superfluity is foolish, because it knows no limits. Wisdom and virtue are our best defence; every other guard is weak and unstable. It requires much wisdom to give right names to things. In all society a due regard must be had to subordination. It is an evident proof of a good education, to be able to endure the want of it in others. Before we abandon a friend, we should endeavor, by actions as well as words, to reclaim him.

With respect to God, Pythagoras appears to have taught that he is the Universal Mind, diffused through all things, the source of all animal life; the proper and intrinsic cause of all motion; in substance similar to light; in nature like truth; the first principle of the universe, incapable of pain, invisible, incorruptible, and only to be comprehended by the mind. Subordinate to the Deity, there were three orders of Intelligence, gods, dæmons, heroes, distinguished by their respective degrees of intelligence. The region of the air was full of spirits.

Man, he taught, was a microcosm, a compendium of the universe; that his soul is a self-moving principle, composed of two parts, the rational, which is a portion of the soul of the world, seated in the brain; and the irrational, which includes the passions, and is seated in the heart; that man participates in both these with the brutes, which from the temperament of the body, and their want of the power of speech, are incapable of acting rationally; that the sensitive soul perishes; but the rational mind is immortal; that after the rational mind is freed from the chains of the body, it assumes an ethereal vehicle, and passes into the regions of the dead, where it remains till it is sent back to this world, to be the inhabitant of some other body, brutal or human; and that after suffering successive purgations, when it is sufficiently purified, it is received among the gods, and returns to the eternal source from which it at first proceeded.

The doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which was taught in Egypt, was the foundation of abstinence from animal food, and the exclusion of animal sacrifices.

Among the symbols of Pythagoras are the following: Adore the sound of the whispering wind. Stir not the fire with a sword. Turn aside from an edged tool. Pass not over a balance. Receive not a swallow into your house. When it thunders, touch the earth. Plant not a palm. Plant mallows in thy garden, but eat them not. Abstain from beans.

His most celebrated followers were, Alcmaeon, Ecphantus, Hippo, Empedocles, Epicharmus, Ocellus Lucanus, Timæus, Archytas, Philolaus, Eudoxus.

**ELEATIC SECT.**—Three of the most celebrated preceptors, Parmenides, Zeno, and Leucippus, being natives of Elea in Magna Græcia, the sect derived its name from this place. Zenophanes, born 556, was the founder of this sect. The metaphysical notions entertained are incomprehensible. His astronomical opinions were very absurd. He supposed that the stars were extinguished every morning, and rekindled at night; that eclipses were occasioned by the temporary extinction of the sun; that the moon was eighteen times larger than the earth; and that there were several suns and moons for the convenience of the different climates of the earth. He further imagined that God and the world were the same, and maintained that the universe was eternal. Democritus, commonly known under the name of the laughing philosopher, was of this sect, and succeeded Leucippus. He was contemporary with Socrates. Marvellous stories are related concerning

him, and he had the address to make the ignorant inhabitants of Abdéra, the place of his birth, believe that he had the gift of prophecy. He never appeared in public, without expressing his contempt of the follies of mankind by laughter. He maintained that the earth has no animating principle, but that all things are moved by the rapid agitation of atoms, as by a universally penetrating fire; that the soul is the result of a combination of round and fiery particles; that it is mortal, and perishes with the body; but that human bodies will revive; that perception is produced by images which flow from bodies according to their respective figure, and strike upon the organ of sense. He altogether denied the existence of the Supreme Being.

The following maxims are ascribed to him:— He who subdues his passions is more heroic than he who vanquishes an enemy; yet, there are men, who, whilst they command nations, are slaves to pleasure. It is criminal, not only to do mischief, but to wish it. He who enjoys what he has, without regretting the want of what he has not, is a happy man. The sweetest things become the most bitter by excess. Do nothing shameful, though you are alone; revere yourself more than all other men. By desiring little, a poor man makes himself rich. It is the office of prudence, where it is possible, to prevent injuries; but where this cannot be done, a wise regard to our tranquillity will preserve us from revenging them. One great difference between a wise man and a fool, is, that the former only wishes for what he may obtain, the latter desires impossibilities.

The most celebrated disciples of Democritus were Protagoras, Diagoras, Anaxarchus.

**HERACLITEAN SECT.**—This sect was founded by Heraclitus of Ephesus, and it obtained no small share of celebrity. He flourished B. C. 504, and is known as the weeping philosopher.

“Will you not now the pair of sages praise,  
Who the same end pursu’d by different ways?  
One pitied, one contemn’d the woful times;  
One laugh’d at follies, and one wept at crimes.”

His natural temper being splenetic and melancholy, he despised the ignorance and follies of mankind, shunned all public intercourse with the world, and devoted himself to retirement and contemplation. He made choice of a mountainous retreat for his place of residence, and lived on the natural produce of

the earth with the wild inhabitants of the place. He treated with contempt the polite invitation of Darius, king of Persia. He maintained that there is a fatal necessity, that the world was created from fire, which he deemed a god omnipotent and omniscient. The heavenly bodies, he said, are in the form of boats, having the hollow side towards us; and they become luminous, when certain fiery exhalations from the earth are collected within them; the sun is no larger than he appears; the stars are nourished by the exhalations from the earth; all nature is full of souls or dæmons; human souls are liable to perpetual changes, and when they are loaded with moist vapors, they pass into the watery mass and perish; but if they are purified from these they return into the soul of the universe. Hippocrates, the physician, was the most distinguished admirer of Heraclitus. He said, "that which we call heat seems to be an immortal principle, which understands, sees, hears, and perceives all things present and future."

THE EPICUREAN SECT.—Epicurus was born near Athens 344 B. C. He established his school in a pleasant garden near the city. His school became very popular. His disciples lived together on a footing of friendly attachment, with great frugality. In his own conduct he was exemplary, and he inculcated in his followers severity of manners, and the strict government of the passions, as the best means of passing a tranquil and happy life. He is said to have written a greater number of original works, than any other Grecian philosopher, but a compendium of his doctrine by Laertius, and a few fragments, are all that remain.

According to Epicurus—Philosophy is the exercise of reason in the pursuit and attainment of a happy life; it consists of two parts; physics, which respect the contemplation of nature; and ethics, which are employed in the regulation of manners: dialectics are to be rejected as productive of only thorny disputes, idle quibbles, and fruitless cavilling; there are three instruments of judging—sense, preconception and passion; the senses can never be deceived, and consequently every perception of an image is true, i. e., the perception or simple apprehension, and its efficient cause, the species or image flowing from the object, really agree; opinion or judgment is consequent on perception. All pleasure to which no pain is annexed is for its own sake to be pursued. Nothing can ever spring from nothing. The universe always existed, the world is a finite portion of the universe, and was formed by the fortuitous concourse of atoms. Those atoms, which were, by their size

and figure suited to form fiery bodies, collected themselves into stars. Those which were not capable of rising so high in the sphere of the world, being disturbed by the fiery particles, formed themselves into air. At length, from those which subsided was produced the earth. The incessant motion of the atoms, which produced the world, is continually operating towards its dissolution, for nothing is solid and indissoluble but atoms. The parts of animals were not originally made for the uses to which they are now applied. The eye, for example, was not made for seeing, nor the ear for hearing. The soul is a subtle corporeal substance; and can act only by means of the bodily organs, and on their separation it becomes wholly insensible.

Different sensations are produced by means of certain species or images, which are perpetually passing like their films from bodies, in forms similar to the surfaces of the bodies themselves, and striking upon organs fitted to receive them. Thought is produced by subtle images, which find their way through the body, and when they arrive at the heart, the seat of intellect, move it to think. Sleep is produced, when the parts of the soul which are at other times diffused through the body are repressed or separated by the action of the air, or of food. Dreams are the effects of images casually flying about, which strike upon the mind. Death is the dispersion of the soul into the corpuscles or atoms of which it was composed, and therefore can be no longer capable of thought or perception.

It cannot, he said, be denied that there are in the universe Divine Natures, because nature itself has impressed the idea of Divinity upon the mind of men. This universal notion has probably arisen from the images of the gods, which have casually made their way to the minds of men in sleep, and have afterwards been recollected. But it is inconsistent with our natural notions of the gods, as happy and immortal beings, to suppose that they encumber themselves with the management of the world, or are subject to cares and passions which must necessarily attend so great a charge. Nevertheless, on account of their excellent nature, they are proper objects of reverence and worship.

In his system of moral philosophy, many excellent precepts are contained; and he appears to have desired to inspire his followers with a love of virtue, but by representing pleasure as the motive to the practice of virtue, and as the ultimate end of life, he polluted the fountain of virtuous action; and, by



denying the doctrine of a superintending Providence, he removed the only firm basis of moral obligation, and left his followers to do that which was right in their own eyes, to follow the wayward inclinations of their own appetites and passions. Epicurus had the wisdom to perceive that pleasure could be obtained only in the path of virtue; but most of his followers imagined that pleasure was to be found in intemperance and luxury, and, neglecting his precepts, and thinking only of his leading principle, they gave free indulgence to their vicious inclinations.

The followers of Epicurus were very numerous in Rome; his doctrines were rapidly disseminated, and the gratification of the senses was regarded by those who called themselves his followers as the greatest good, the end of human existence.

**THE PYRRHONIC OR SCEPTICAL SECT.**—Pyrrho, the founder of this sect, flourished B. C. 340. He taught that every object of human inquiry is involved in uncertainty, so that it is impossible ever to arrive at the knowledge of truth. It is related, that he acted upon his own principles, and carried his scepticism to so ridiculous an extreme, that his friends were obliged to accompany him wherever he went, that he might not be run over by carriages, or fall down precipices. Pyrrho and his followers rather endeavored to demolish every other philosophical structure, than to erect one of their own.

If the history of the Sceptic sect be compared with that of the Academy, the two sects will be found to be nearly allied.

Such was the philosophy of the Greeks, of the most learned nation in the world. How happy should we think ourselves, and how thankful to God for the glorious light of the Gospel, which leaves us under no doubt or uncertainty with respect to his existence, his power, wisdom, and goodness, and his indiscriminate and perpetual providence over universal nature; which fully brings to light the doctrine of a future life, and which, in the death and resurrection of Jesus, furnishes a proof and pattern of a universal resurrection. What ample encouragement to a life of virtue! what animating motives and sanctions, does not the Gospel contain, to lead us to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly before God!

“Some persons,” says Bishop Butler, “upon pretence of the sufficiency of the light of nature, avowedly reject all Revelation, as, in its very notion, incredible, and what must be fictitious. And indeed it is certain, there would have been none, had the light of nature been sufficient in such a sense, as

to render a Revelation not wanting, and useless. But no man, in seriousness and simplicity of mind, could possibly have thought it so, who had considered the state of Religion in the heathen world, before Revelation, and its present state in those places which have borrowed no light from it; particularly the doubtfulness of some of the greatest men, concerning things of the utmost importance, as well as the natural inattention and ignorance of mankind in general. It is impossible to say, who would have been able to have reasoned out that whole system which we call natural religion, in its genuine simplicity, clear of superstition; but there is certainly no ground to affirm, that the generality could. If they could, there is no sort of probability that they would. Admitting there were, they would highly want a standing admonition, to remind them of it, and to inculcate it upon them. And farther still, were they as much disposed to attend to religion, as the better sort of men are; yet even upon this supposition, there would be various occasions for supernatural instruction and assistance, and the greatest advantages might be afforded by them. So that to say Revelation is a thing superfluous, what there was no need of, and what can be of no service; is, I think, to talk quite wildly and at random. Nor would it be more extravagant to affirm, that mankind is so entirely at ease in the present state, and life so completely happy, that it is a contradiction to suppose our condition capable of being, in any respect, better."

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#### THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ROMANS.

The only name which, at the early period of Roman History, has any pretensions to be admitted into the list of philosophers, is that of Numa, the second king of Rome. His excellent institutions of civil policy, introduced in the infancy of a State, which owed its existence to the force of arms, prove him to have been a wise legislator. "Nùma," says Livy, "possessed a mind deeply tinctured with virtue, and well furnished with good principles, not so much from foreign instruction, as from early habits of strict discipline, which he had acquired among the Sabines." It is maintained by several writers, that his wisdom was borrowed from the great founder of one of the Grecian schools of philosophy, Pythagoras, and this opinion is expressed in our account of the Roman kings; but others think that Pythagoras lived more than a century after the time of Numa.

The wise discipline which Numa introduced was ill suited to the genius of the Roman people. "The greatest of all his works," remarks Livy, "was the establishment of a permanent peace, which he maintained through the whole course of his reign, with no less care than he employed in securing his own authority." But so prevalent at this time was the military character among the Romans, that it rendered them averse to all improvements in science, and led them to discourage every approach to philosophy, as tending to enfeeble the spirit, and corrupt the manners, of their youth.

The rise of philosophy in Rome may be dated from the time of the embassy, which was sent from the Athenians to the Romans, B. C. 156, deprecating a fine which had been imposed upon them for laying waste a town of Sicily. The immediate effect of the display which these philosophical missionaries made of their wisdom and eloquence, was to excite in the Roman youth of all ranks an ardent thirst after knowledge. Lælius, Furius, and Scipio, young men of the first distinction, were more particularly desirous of cultivating philosophy; though they were opposed by Cato the Censor, who apprehended, that the introduction of the literature of Greece would enfeeble those hardy virtues which were the foundation of their national glory. But the injudicious conduct of Cato could not suppress the spirit of inquiry. The struggle between philosophy and voluntary ignorance was, indeed, for some time maintained. We read of a decree of the Senate, requiring the prætor Pomponius to take care that no philosophers took up their abode at Rome. Some years afterwards, the censors, as if resolved at once to exclude philosophy and eloquence, issued a similar edict against rhetoricians, in terms to this effect: "Whereas we have been informed, that certain men, who call themselves Latin rhetoricians, have instituted a new kind of learning, and opened schools, in which young men trifle away their time day after day, we, judging this innovation to be inconsistent for the purpose for which our ancestors established schools, contrary to ancient custom, and injurious to our youth, do hereby warn both those who keep these schools, and those who frequent them, that they are herein acting contrary to our pleasure." And this edict was afterwards revived, B. C. 117. But at length philosophy, under the protection of those great commanders who had conquered Greece, prevailed; and Rome opened her gates to all who professed to be teachers of wisdom and eloquence.

Scipio Africanus was one of the first among the Roman

youths of patrician rank, who, in the midst of military glory, found leisure to listen to the precepts of philosophy. Whatever time he could spare from military operations, he devoted to study; his companions were Polybius, Panætius, and other men of letters; he was intimately conversant with the best Greek writers, particularly Xenophon. Lelius and Furius were also great admirers of Greek learning. The circumstance chiefly worthy of admiration in these great men is, that, although they did not join the band of philosophers, but sought for glory in the offices of civil or military life, they made use of the lessons of philosophy in acquiring the most exalted merit.

Animated by such examples, many other persons of eminence in Rome, attached themselves to the study of philosophy, particularly among those who were devoted to the profession of the law. Quintus Tubero, who was one of the most celebrated masters of civil law, was also conversant with philosophical learning, and professed himself a follower of the Stoic sect. The moral doctrine of this sect was peculiarly suitable to his natural temper, and to the habits of temperance and moderation which he had learned from his father, one of those excellent Romans, who, in the highest office of the State, retained the simplicity of rustic manners. Confirmed in these habits by the precepts of Panætius, when Tubero was called upon, as prætor, to give a public entertainment in honor of his uncle, he provided only wooden couches covered with goat skins, earthen vessels, and a frugal repast. The people, who expected a splendid feast, were dissatisfied, and dismissed him from his office. "This was," as Seneca remarks, "an instructive lesson of moderation to the Romans, who, when they saw the sacred tables of Jupiter served with earthen vessels, would learn that men ought to be contented with such things as the gods themselves did not disdain to use."

B. C. 65. Lucullus was at this time an active patron of philosophy. His constant companion was Antiochus, the Ascalonite, who was universally esteemed a man of genius and learning. In order to promote a general taste for learning and philosophy, Lucullus made a large collection of valuable books, and erected a library, with galleries and schools adjoining, to which he invited learned men of all descriptions, and which particularly afforded a welcome retreat to those Greeks, who, at this time, sought in Rome an asylum from the tumults of war. This place became the daily resort of

men of letters, where every one enjoyed the benefit of reading or conversation as best suited his taste.

Yet Lucullus, though he dedicated much of his time to studious pursuits and literary conversation, was notorious for his luxurious vanity and extravagance. The expenses of his entertainments were immoderate, and his halls were distinguished by the different names of the gods. Subterraneous caves and passages were dug under the hills on the coast of Campania, and the sea water was conveyed round the house and pleasure grounds, which were stocked with immense shoals of fishes. It is said that he might have disputed the empire of the world with Cæsar or Pompey, had not, at last, his love of retirement withdrawn him from the reach of ambition.

The Greek philosophy having been thus transplanted to Rome, the exotic plant flourished with vigor in its new soil. Partly through the instructions of those Greek philosophers who resided at Rome, and partly by means of the practice, which was now commonly adopted, of sending young men from Rome to the ancient schools of wisdom for education, science and learning made a rapid progress, and almost every sect of philosophy found followers and patrons among the higher orders of the Roman citizens. If, however, we apply the term philosopher to those who speculated in Rome, it must be in a sense somewhat different from that, in which it is used with respect to the Greeks. Among them a philosopher was one, who professionally employed his time in studying and teaching philosophy; and several of these, at this period, became resident in this capacity, at Rome. But, among the Romans themselves, there were scarcely any who were philosophers by profession. They who are spoken of under this denomination were, for the most part, men of high rank, invested with civil or military offices, and occupied in civil affairs. They studied philosophy, as they cultivated other liberal arts, rather as a means of acquiring ability, and obtaining distinction, in their civil capacities, or as an elegant amusement in the intervals of leisure, than as in itself an ultimate object of attention.

This circumstance will serve to account for a fact, which, at first view, may seem surprising; that, notwithstanding the high spirit of the Roman people, they chose rather to pay homage to a conquered nation, by adopting the dogmas of their sects, than to attempt, from their own stores, to form for themselves a new system of philosophy. They did not want

ability for undertakings of this nature, but they wanted leisure. They wished to enjoy the reputation, and the benefit of wisdom; and therefore studied philosophy under such masters as accident cast in their way, or their particular profession or turn of mind led them to prefer. Thus, the Stoic philosophy was, on account of the utility of its moral doctrines, peculiarly adapted to the character and office of lawyers and magistrates; the Pythagoric and Platonic suited the state of the gloomy and contemplative; and the Epicurean was welcome to those selfish spirits, who were disposed to prefer ignoble sloth to public virtue. Every one found, in the doctrines of some one of the Grecian sects, tenets which suited his own disposition and situation; and therefore no one thought it necessary to attempt farther discoveries or improvements. Perhaps, too, it may be added, that the Romans looked up to the schools of Greece with a degree of respect, which would not suffer them to undertake any thing new, in a walk in which so many eminent men had exerted their talents. Despairing of doing more than had already been done by the illustrious founders of the several sects of philosophy, they thought it sufficient to make choice of some one of these as their guide. Hence Greece, which had submitted to the arms, in her turn subdued the understandings of the Romans; and, contrary to that which in these cases commonly happens, the conquerors adopted the opinions and manners of the conquered.

The ancient Italic or Pythagorean school, does not appear to have extended beyond that part of Italy, formerly called Magna Græcia. Pythagoras seems not to have had any followers in Rome before the seventh century from the building of the city, unless the poet Ennius be reckoned such. Publius Nigidius, a friend of Cicero, was a professed advocate of the Pythagorean doctrines. He was a considerable proficient in mathematical and astronomical learning, and after the example of his master, applied his knowledge of nature to the purposes of imposture. After his time, the doctrines of Pythagoras were much neglected, and few persons are now able to decipher with accuracy, the obscure dogmas of this mysterious sect.

The philosophy of the Old Academy, as it was revived and corrected by Antiochus, found many advocates at Rome. Among these, besides Lucullus, was the illustrious defender of Roman liberty, Marcus Brutus. Plutarch says of him, "that there was no Greek philosopher, on whom he did not attend, nor any sect with whose tenets he was not conversant; but that

he, for the most part, embraced the doctrine of Plato, and followed the Old rather than the New or Middle Academy; and, on this account, was a great admirer of Antiochus, the Ascalonite, and admitted his brother Ariosto into his confidence." Cicero relates the same, and adds, "that Brutus, excelling in every kind of merit, so successfully transplanted the Greek philosophy into the Latin tongue, as to render it almost unnecessary to have recourse to the original, in order to gain a competent knowledge on the subject." Notwithstanding his civil and military engagements, he wrote treatises on Virtue, on Patience, and on the Offices of Life, which, though in point of style concise even to abruptness, contained an excellent summary of ethics, framed partly from the doctrines of Plato; and partly from those of the Stoical school; for Brutus, after his master Antiochus, was disposed to favor the union of these two sects.

It reflects immortal honor upon the memory of Brutus, that he was a philosopher in actions as well as in words. His gentle manners, his noble mind, his entire self-command, and his inflexible integrity, rendered him beloved by his friends, and admired by the multitude, and would not suffer even his enemies to hate or despise him. If it be thought that he tarnished the lustre of his merit by lifting up his hand against Cæsar, it should be remembered, that in the soul of a Roman, whilst Roman virtue remained, every private passion was lost in the love of his country. The ardor of his patriotic spirit would not suffer him to survive that public liberty which he could no longer preserve; and, after the example of his uncle Cato, he fell by his own hand: an action, which, though nothing can justify, such a situation may be allowed in some measure to excuse.

Another ornament to the Old Academy was M. Terentius Varro, born at Rome 116 B. C. Cicero speaks of his good sense, his indifference to pleasure, and his patient perseverance in business. To these virtues he added uncommon abilities, and large stores of knowledge. His prose writings were exceedingly numerous, and treated of various topics in antiquities, chronology, geography, natural and civil history, philosophy, and criticism. He was also a poet of some distinction, and wrote in almost every kind of verse.

To Varro we may add Piso.

The Middle Academy, no less than the Old, had its patrons at Rome. Cicero addicted himself to this sect, which was founded on a conviction of the imbecility of human reason.

The service which he rendered to philosophy will in some measure appear from an enumeration of his philosophical writings. On the subject of the philosophy of nature, his principal works are, the fragment of his translation of Plato's *Timæus*, on the universe; his treatise on the Nature of the Gods; his books on Divination and Fate, and the Dream of Scipio. On moral philosophy, he treats in several distinct works. In his treatise *De Finibus*, on Moral Ends, which is a history of the doctrine of Grecian philosophers concerning the ultimate ends of life, he states the different opinions of the several sects upon this subject, enumerates the leading arguments by which they were supported, and points out the difficulties which press upon each opinion. In his *Quæstiones Tusculanæ*, Tusculan Questions, he treats of the contempt of death, patience under bodily pain, the remedies of grief, and the sufficiency of virtue to a happy life. In the dialogues entitled *Cato* and *Lælius*, he discourses concerning the consolations of old age, and the duties and pleasures of friendship. His explanations of the Six Stoical Paradoxes seem rather to have been written as a rhetorical exercise, than as a serious disquisition in philosophy. His treatise *De Officiis*, on Moral Duties, contains an excellent summary of practical ethics. The grounds of jurisprudence are explained in his book *De Legibus*, on Laws. His *Hortensius*, or Exhortation to the study of philosophy, his *Oeconomics* and *Republic* are lost.

Cicero rather relates the opinions of others, than advances any new doctrine from his own conceptions. He belonged to the class of Academics. Through all his philosophical works, he paints in lively colors, and with all the graces of fine writing, the opinions of philosophers; and relates in the diffuse manner of an orator, the arguments on each side of the question in dispute; but we seldom find him diligently examining the exact weight of evidence in the scale of reason, carefully deducing accurate conclusions from certain principles, or exhibiting a series of argument in a close and systematic arrangement. On the contrary, we frequently hear him declaiming eloquently instead of reasoning conclusively, and meet with unequivocal proofs that he was better qualified to dispute on either side with the Academics, than to decide upon the question with the Dogmatists. In fine, Cicero appears rather to have been a warm admirer, and an elegant memorialist of philosophy, than himself to have merited a place in the first order of philosophers.

The Stoic, as well as the Academic school, was patronized



by many eminent men in the Roman Republic. Q. L. Balbus was an eminent master of the Stoic philosophy. Several of the most zealous and able supporters of the tottering Republic, derived no small part of their strength from the principles of Stoicism. But the man who, above all the rest, claims our notice, as a Stoic in character as well as in opinion, is Cato of Utica. His language, both in private and public, was a true image of his mind; plain, concise, and somewhat harsh; but enlivened with strokes of genius, which could not be heard without pleasure. He nobly withstood the assaults which were made upon liberty, with a firm and resolute adherence to the principles of public virtue, that no apprehension of danger to himself or his family could ever induce him to listen to any proposal which implied a treacherous desertion of his country. Whilst some were supporting the interest of Cæsar, and others that of Pompey, Cato, himself a host, withstood them both, and convinced them that there was an interest still existing, that of the State. But, at length, when he saw that the necessity of the times required it, in order that, of two impending evils, the least might be chosen, he took part with Pompey.

*"Cuncta terrarum subacta*

*Præter atrocem animum Catonis."*

*"I see the world subdued,*

*All but the mighty soul of Cato."*

The Peripatetic philosophy found its way into Rome, in the time of Sylla, with the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus. That tyrant, when the city of Athens was taken by him, became possessed of the library of Apellicon, and the rich prize was brought to Rome, and soon engaged the attention of those who knew the value of Greek learning. The writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus were transcribed and dispersed among the Romans.

The Epicurean Philosophy, in consequence of the opposition it had met with in Greece from the Stoics, and the irregularities which had been practised by some of its followers, entered Rome under a heavy load of obloquy, and this was increased by the vehemence with which Cicero inveighed against this sect. Nevertheless, there were many persons of high distinction in Rome, to whom the character of Epicurus appeared less censurable, and who were of opinion that true philosophy was to be found in his garden. Among these were Torquatus Velleius, Trebatius, Piso, Albertius, Pansa, and Atticus, the friend of Cicero.

The true doctrine of Epicurus was not fully stated by any Roman writer, till Lucretius, with much accuracy of conception and clearness of method, as well as with great strength and elegance of diction, unfolded the Epicurean system in his poem "*De Rerum Natura*," on the Nature of Things. In this poem, the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul are denied. This poem is said to have been written while the poet labored under a violent delirium, occasioned by a philter which the jealousy of his wife had administered. Lucretius destroyed himself in the forty-fourth year of his age, 94 B. C.

The Pyrrhonic or Sceptic Sect was not followed among the Romans; not because the method of philosophising adopted by this sect had no admirers, but because it was superseded by the Academic philosophy, which pursued the same track, but with greater caution and sobriety.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### ROMAN LITERATURE.

Before the intercourse with Greece, which took place after the Punic wars, the Romans paid little attention to literature. The remaining fragments of the annals of the Pontiffs, and the laws of the Twelve Tables, are sufficient to prove the rude and imperfect state of the Latin language during the early times of the Republic.

1. **LIVIVS ANDRONICUS**, 238 B. C., was the first that introduced a dramatic performance on the Roman stage. Though the character of a player so valued and applauded in Greece, was reckoned vile and despicable among the Romans, Andronicus acted a part in his dramatical compositions. He was a Greek, and the freed-man of Livius Salinator, whose children he educated. His poetry was become obsolete in the age of Cicero.

2. **C. NÆVIUS** was born in Campania, and served in the first Punic war. He was driven from Rome on account of his satirical disposition, and he died at Utica 233 B. C. He wrote a poem on the first Punic war, and some tragedies, comedies, and satires. A few fragments are preserved.

3. **QUINTUS FABIVS PICTOR**, flourished during the second Punic war. He was the first Roman that recorded in prose the antiquities and events of the Romans. He wrote Annals both in the Greek and Latin language, and some books *de Jure Pontifico*. Few fragments remain.

4. **QUINTUS ENNIUS**, born in Calabria, obtained the name and privileges of a Roman citizen by his genius and learning. His style is rough and unpolished. Quintillian commends him for the energy of his expressions, and the warmth of his poetry, and Virgil has shown his merit by introducing many whole lines from his poetry, which he calls pearls gathered from the dunghill. Ennius wrote in heroic verse eighteen books of the annals of the Roman Republic, and displayed much knowledge of the world in some dramatical and theatrical compositions.

He died of the gout, contracted by frequent intoxication, about 169 B. C., in the seventieth year of his age. Ennius was intimate with the great men of the age. He accompanied Cato to Sardinia; and Scipio, on his death bed, ordered his body to be buried by the side of his poetical friend. He bestowed on himself the title of the Homer of the Latium. Only a few fragments of his works remain.

5. MARCUS PORTIUS CATO, wrote *Origines*, *De Re Militari*, *Orations*, and other works which are lost. There remains his work on Agriculture. In Cicero's time there were fifty of his orations in existence.

6. MARCUS ACCIUS PLAUTUS, was born in Umbria B. C. 227. He wrote one hundred and thirty comedies, of which twenty remain. His plays were universally esteemed at Rome, and for five hundred years, with all the disadvantages of obsolete language and diction, his plays were acted.

7. STATIUS CÆCILIUS, born in a state of servitude, was a comic poet, and commended by Cicero and Quintilian. Above thirty of his comedies are mentioned by ancient historians. A few fragments remain. He was the friend of Scipio, Terence, and Ennius. He died 169 B. C.

8. PUBLIUS TERENTIUS AFER, a native of Carthage, born a slave, B. C. 192. His master educated him with great care, and on account of the brilliancy of his genius gave him his liberty. Scipio Æmilianus and Lælius are said to have assisted him in the composition of his plays. Only six of his comedies remain. He is admired for the purity of his language, the artless elegance, and simplicity of his diction, and for a continual delicacy of sentiment. It is said that he translated one hundred and eighty of the comedies of the Greek poet Menander.

9. MARCUS PACUVIUS, born at Brundisium B. C. 152, wrote satires and tragedies, but few fragments of his works are extant.

10. ENNIUS LUCILIUS, a Roman knight, celebrated for the uprightness and innocence of his character. He is considered as the first great satirical writer. Of the thirty satires which he wrote, only a few verses remain. He died B. C. 103.

11. T. LUCRETIVUS CARUS, born B. C. 95, composed, in heroic metre, six books *De Rerum Natura*, in which the opinions of Epicurus are explained and elucidated. An account has already been given of them.

12. MARCUS TERENTIUS VARRO, celebrated for his great learning, wrote five hundred different books, which are all lost

except a treatise *De Re Rustica*, and another *De Lingua Latina*, dedicated to Cicero. He died B. C. 28, in the eighty-eighth year of his age.

13. **MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO**, mentioned before.

14. **CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR**, eminent as a grammarian, poet, orator, historian, and lawyer. The greater part of his writings are lost. In his style there is a peculiar beauty, and it strikingly illustrates the peculiarities and idiomatic turn of the Latin tongue.

15. **CORNELIUS NEPOS**, wrote *The Lives of Eminent Commanders*. His style is pure and elegant, and his narrations clear and perspicuous. He was the intimate friend of Cicero and Atticus.

16. **CAIUS SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS**, born B. C. 85, in the district of the Sabines, wrote the history of the war with Jugurtha, and of the conspiracy of Catiline. His style is distinguished for precision and elegance. He died B. C. 35, at the age of fifty-one.

17. **TITUS LIVIUS**, born at Padua, and died A. D. 17, at the age of seventy-six. He wrote a history of Rome in one hundred and forty books, of which only thirty-five are extant. He holds a high rank among historians; his style is clear and intelligible, labored without affectation, diffusive without tediousness, and argumentative without pedantry. His candor has been called in question. He is not always original, for he has copied many passages word for word from Polybius, without any acknowledgment.

18. **MARCUS VITRUVIUS POLLIO**, a celebrated architect, who wrote a treatise on his profession, which is the only book on architecture now extant, written by the ancients. He flourished B. C. 44.

19. **CAIUS VALERIUS CATULLUS**, a poet of Verona, whose compositions, elegant and simple, are the offspring of a luxuriant imagination. He imitated with success the Greek writers, and introduced their numbers among the Latins. His pages are not unfrequently polluted with licentious expressions. He was acquainted with the most distinguished people of his age, and directed his satire against Cæsar, who, in return, hospitably entertained him at his table.

20. **ALBUS TIBULLUS**, a Roman knight. Four books of his elegies are the only remaining pieces of his composition. They are uncommonly elegant and beautiful, and possessed with so much grace and purity of sentiment, that the writer is deservedly ranked as the prince of elegiac poets. Ovid wrote

a beautiful elegy on his death. As he had espoused the cause of Brutus, he lost his possessions when the soldiers of the triumvirate were rewarded with lands of the opposite party. To his honor it is recorded, that he disdained to imitate the base adulation of his great contemporaries, Virgil and Horace, in paying court to Augustus.

21. **SEXTUS AURELIUS PROPERTIUS**, died about 19 B. C. His works consist of four books of elegies, written with much spirit, vivacity, and energy, but his lascivious expressions expose him to just censure.

22. **PUBLIUS VIRGILIUS MARO**, was born near Mantua 70 B. C. His principal writings are his *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Æneid*. The four *Georgics* are considered the most exquisite specimen of Latin poetry, and the most perfect and finished of all Latin compositions. So great is the merit of the *Æneid* that it is undecided, whether Homer or Virgil is more entitled to admiration. In his *Bucolics* he showed his countrymen that he could write with graceful simplicity, with elegance, and purity of language. His farm, which had been taken from him, was restored by Augustus, and he repaid his patron by the most fulsome flattery. We admire the poet, but we despise the man.

23. **QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS** was born 65 B. C. His father was a freed-man, and, though poor, liberally educated his son. Horace was in the army of Brutus at Philippi, but cast away his shield. He became the friend of Virgil and Varius, was patronized by Augustus and Mæcenas, and gave himself up to poetry, indolence, and pleasure. In all his writings, he breathes the Epicurean spirit. The poetry of Horace, so much commented for its elegance and sweetness, is deservedly censured for the licentious expressions and indelicate thoughts which he frequently introduces. He lived on terms of great familiarity with his illustrious patrons; and both he and Virgil left all their possessions to Augustus.

24. **PUBLIUS OVIDIUS NASO**, born at Sulmo 43 B. C. He enjoyed the friendship of Virgil, Horace, Propertius, and Tibullus; and Augustus patronized him with unbounded liberality, but he was afterwards banished. Like his great friends Virgil and Horace, he disgraced his character by gross adulation of the emperor. His *Metamorphoses*, in fifteen books, *Fasti*, *Tristia*, *Elegies*, *Heroides*, his three books *de Amorum*, and the same number *de Arte Amandi*, and the other *de Remedio Amoris*, are his chief works. His style is elegant, pure, flowing, and delicate; but his sentiments often licentious.

# APPENDIX.

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## CHRONOLOGY

Treats of time, the method of measuring its parts, and adapting these, when distinguished by proper marks and characters, to past transactions for the illustration of history. This science, therefore, consists of two parts. The first treats of the proper measurement of time, and the adjustment of its several divisions; the second, of fixing the dates of the various events recorded in history, and arranging them according to the several divisions of time, in the order in which they happened.

The utility and importance of the knowledge of chronology, as it comprehends the distribution of time into its subordinate parts, and the arrangement of historical events, by means of these several divisions, in the order according to which they occurred, so that their respective dates may be accurately fixed, will be universally acknowledged. We can form but very confused notions of the intervals of time, of the rise and fall of empires, and of the successive establishment of states, without some general comprehension of the whole current of time, such as may enable us to trace out distinctly the dependence of events, and distribute them into such periods and divisions, as shall lay the whole chain of past transactions in a just and orderly manner before us. This is what the science of chronology undertakes to teach, or, at least, to afford us very important aid in the attainment of.

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## MEMORIA TECHNICA.

As there is a great difficulty in retaining numbers, letters have been substituted for the figures to assist the memory. By transmuting figures into letters, which easily cohere in every form of combination, we fix and retain numbers in

the mind with the same ease and certainty, with which we remember words.

|   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |   |     |      |
|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|---|-----|------|
| a | e | i | o | u | au | oi | ei | ou | y | g   | th   |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6  | 7  | 8  | 9  | 0 | 100 | 1000 |
| b | d | t | f | l | s  | p  | k  | n  | z |     |      |

With these letters representing figures, syllables are formed, which are annexed to the first part of the name, thus, *put* represents the three figures 753; and Rom., an abbreviation of Romulus, with *put* annexed makes Rom. *put*, i. e., Romulus in the year 753.

|    |     |      |      |      |      |     |
|----|-----|------|------|------|------|-----|
| 10 | 325 | 381  | 1921 | 1491 | 1012 | 536 |
| az | tel | teib | aneb | afna | bybe | uts |

TABLE I.

*General Epochs and Eras.*

|                                                                                                                 |      |      |      |      |      |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| <i>Cr-othf</i> , Del- <i>etok</i> , Ab- <i>aneb</i> , Ex- <i>afna</i> , Troy- <i>abeit</i> , Tem- <i>bybe</i> . |      |      |      |      |      |
| 4004                                                                                                            | 2348 | 1921 | 1491 | 1183 | 1012 |
| Olym- <i>pois</i> , Rom- <i>put</i> , Ærnabonas- <i>pop</i> , Cyr- <i>uts</i> , Phil- <i>ido</i> .              |      |      |      |      |      |
| 776                                                                                                             | 753  |      | 747  | 536  | 324  |
| Contrac- <i>tad</i> , × Diecles- <i>eko</i> , Mahom- <i>audd</i> , Yez- <i>sid</i> .                            |      |      |      |      |      |
| 312                                                                                                             | 284  |      | 622  |      | 632  |

The Creation of the World, the Deluge, Abraham, Exodus, Troy, Temple of Solomon, First Olympiad, Romulus, Ærnabonazzar, Cyrus, Philip, Æra of Contracts × Dioclesian-Æra, Mahomet, Yesdegird, or the Persian Æra.

TABLE II.

*Grecian History.*

Theb-*adel*, Mess-*pot*, Mes-*sku*, Marath-*onz*, Salam-*oky*, Eurymed-*opz*, Pelo-*fib*, Leuctra-*tpi*, Mant-*isi*, Phoc-*ilp*, Grani-*tif*, × Iss-*tit*, Arb-*tib*, Alex-*tis*, Ari-*tet*, Æg-*tas*.

The Theban War, First Messenian War, Second Messenian War, Battle of Marathon, Battle of Salamis, Battle of Eurymedon, Pelopenesian War, Battle of Leuctra, Battle of Mantinæa, Phocæan War, Battle of the Granicus, Battle of Issus, Battle of Arbela, Alexander the Great, Philip Aridæus, Alexander Ægus.

TABLE III.

*Roman History.*

Stat-reg-*dol*, Num-*paf*, Hostil-*spy*, Anc-*sip*, Prisc-*saf*, Ser-*ups*, Super-*lid*.

Regal State, Romulus, Numa, Hostilius, Ancus Priscus,



Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, Tarquinius Superbus.

Sat-consular-oso.

Consu-lzoi, Dic-onoi, Trib-foud, Decemv-oly, Milt-foz,

Incend-ikk, Samn-ife, Pyr-doin, Bel-pun-esi-das-bok,

Gracc-ade, Jugu-bzou, Cim-bat, Ital-ein, Mithridat-kou.

Syl-dict-eiz, Catal-aud, Tr-un, Phars-op, Bat-phil-ob-Ac-ta.

Consular State, Consuls first made, First Dictator, Creation of Tribunes, of Decemviri, of Military Tribunes, Burning of the city by the Gauls, War with the Samnites, War with Pyrrhus, Three Punic Wars, the Gracchi, Jugurthine War, War with the Cimbri, Italian War, War with Mithridates, Dictatorship of Sylla, Catiline's Conspiracy, First Triumvirate, Battle of Pharsalia, Battle of Philippi, Battle of Actium.

#### TABLE IV.

##### *The Twelve Cæsars.*

Juli-os, August-el, x Tiber-bu, Caligul-ik, Cla-od,

Ner-ul, Galb-otho-sou, Vit-vesp-oiz, Tit-pou, Domit-ka.

Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian.

#### TABLE V.

##### *Regal Table of England.*

In this table, after Alfred 1000 years must be added to each, which it is unnecessary to express.

Casibel-ud, Boad-aup, Vortig-fos, Heng-ful et Arth-laf.

Egbe-kek, Alfre-kpe, Can-bau, Confes-fe.

Wil-con-sau, Ruf-koi, Henpr-ag.

Step-bil et Hensec-buf, Ric-bein, J-ann, Henth-daset Ed-doid.

Edse-typ, Edter-tes, Rise-toip, Hefo-toun, Hefi-fad que

Hensi-fed, Ed-quar-fauz, Efi-R-okt, Hensep-feil, Henoc-lyn,

Edsex-los, Mary-lut, Els-luk, Jam-syd, Caroprim-sel,

Carsec-sok, Jam-seif, Will-M-seik, An-pyb,

Geo-bo-doi-pauz-kez, Will-quar-keiz, Vic-kip.

Casibelaunus, Boadicea, Vortigern, Hengist, Arthur, Egbert, Alfred, Canute, Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry 1st, Stephen, Henry 2d, Richard 1st, John, Henry 3d, Edward 1st, Edward 2d, Edward 3d, Richard 2d, Henry 4th, Henry 5th, Henry 6th, Edward 4th, Edward 5th, Richard 3d, Henry 7th, Henry 8th, Edward 6th, Mary, Elizabeth, James 1st, Charles 1st, Charles 2d, James 2d, William and Mary, Anne, George 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, William 4th, Victoria.

## TABLE VI.

*Events after the Birth of Christ.*

Jud-pa, Zen-doit, Con-tan, Nis-tel, Constan-tek,  
 Goth-Stan-teik, Alar-fay, Van-Span-fad, Rom-Brit-fes,  
 Theod-co-fit, Odoa-fois. Theodor-foud, Justin-co-len,  
 Lat-lan-leik, Cosroes-sad, Jer-Sar-sip, Sar-Sil-sauk,  
 Pep-souy, Af-Sar-pyn, Span-Sar-pat, Char-Rom-kay,  
 Sar-div-nis, Oth-It-nauf, Arith-Eu-noub, Cast-Ar-tu,  
 Tur-Rom-ly, Sar-Ju-su, Crus-nau, Turk-E-baun,  
 Sal-Ric-boud, Con-Lat-dyt, Con-Grec daub, Mar-com-tyd,  
 Prin-foy, Con-Tur-fut.

Jud-pau, Jerusalem destroyed by Titus; Zen-doit, Zenobia defeated by Aurelian; Con-tan, Constantine, first Christian Emperor; Nis-tel, Council of Nice; Constan-tek, Seat of the Empire removed to Constantinople; Goth-Stan-teik, Goths advance to Constantinople; Alar-fay, Rome burnt by Alaric the Goth; Van-Span-fad, the Vandals settle in Spain; Rom-Brit-fes, the Romans withdraw from Britain; Theod-co-fit, Theodosian code published; Odoa-fois, Western Empire destroyed by Odoacer, king of the Heruli; Theodor-foud, Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths conquers Italy from the Heruli; Justin-co-len, Justinian publishes his code of laws; Lat-lan-leik, Latin ceases to be the language of Italy; Chosroes-sad, Conquests of Cosroes, king of Persia, in Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor, &c.; Jer-Sar-sip, Jerusalem taken by the Saracens; Sar-Sil-sauk, the Saracens ravage Sicily; Pep-souy, Pepin king of France; Af-Sar-pyn, Africa conquered by the Saracens; Span-Sar-pat, Spain conquered by the Saracens; Char-Rom-kay, Charlemagne emperor of Rome; Sar-div-nis, Saracen empire divided by usurpation into seven kingdoms; Oth-It-nauf, Italy conquered by Otho; Arith-Eu-noub, Arithmetical Figures brought into Europe by the Saracens; Cast-Ar-tu, kingdoms of Castile and Arragon begin; Tur-Rom-ly, The Turks invade the Roman Empire; Sar-Ju-su, Jerusalem conquered by the Turks from the Saracens; Crus-nau, the first Crusade; Turk-E-baun, Conquest of Egypt by the Turks; Sal-Ric-boud, Saladin defeated by Richard 1st of England; Con-Lat-dyt, Constantinople taken by the Latins; Con-Grec-daub, Constantinople recovered by the Greeks; Mar-com-tyd, Mariner's compass invented or improved; Prin-foy, printing discovered; Con-Tur-fut, Constantinople taken by the Turks.

THE END.











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